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ABSTRACT

This curriculum module for students in grades 9-12 focuses on the United Nations (UN) peace action plan evolving as a partnership between Cambodia and the UN. The eight lessons provide students with varied opportunities for hands-on experiences. Divided into four sections, section 1, "Lesson", includes: (1) "Peacemakers"; (2) "The United Nations: Successes and Failures in Securing Peace"; (3) "The United Nations: A Four Part Peace Action Plan"; (4) "Story of Cambodia"; (5) "The United Nations: Peacemaking in Cambodia"; (6) "The United Nations: Peacebuilding in Cambodia"; (7) "Challenges to Peacebuilding in Cambodia"; and (8) "Designing a Peace Plan Abroad and at Home." Section 2 provides "Role Models for Peacebuilding." Section 3 suggests "Resources for Classroom Strategies on Peacebuilding/Conflict Resolution." Section 4 lists "Selected Resources." An appendix with an "Agenda for Peace" and an evaluation section are included. (EH)

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THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE ACTION PLAN

Case Study - Cambodia

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THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE ACTION PLAN

Case Study-Cambodia.

Mary Eileen Sorenson

assisted by
Walter Enloe and Ken Simon

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Introduction

Welcome to The United Nations Peace Action Plan: Case Study-Cambodia. This curriculum module (grades 9-12) has as its focus the United Nations peace action plan that is evolving as Cambodia and the U.N. become partners in restructuring their land.

Born in the ashes of World War II, the United Nations was the hope and beacon in a devastated world. Although often handicapped in the complex struggles emanating from the Cold War tensions, the United Nations potential remained. Today we see a resurgence of faith in this forum...a forum where all the peoples of the world can debate, negotiate and be heard.

As United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reminds us, the "new" world needs to do more than maintain peace and prevent war. Our "new" world needs a "new" order, new structures of peace, designed, built, and maintained by those in the areas of past conflict.

Tirelessly, and often without recognition, the U.N. has worked to create a more peaceful world. Recently, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in a report to the U.N. security Council, proposed a peace action plan, an Agenda for Peace. It is a plan that challenges the world community to not only work to end violence but to design structures that create and maintain peace.

This Plan forms the core of this curriculum module. All of us, students and teachers, have to be empowered to build structures for peace wherever we find ourselves. Using a case study, the U.N.'s recent efforts at peace building in Cambodia, students explore the issues and practice the skills of peace bulding.

It is our hope that young people learn of the U.N. peace efforts in Cambodia, an area of special interest to the people of the United States, whose painful memories of the Vietnam Era are still fresh. And we also offer opportunities to develop skills in preventing violence, and making, keeping, and building peace... .skills that will empower them to be builders of peace in their own school and neighborhoods as well as on a national and global level.

There are eight lessons providing for local, national, and international application through hands-on experiences, roleplaying, simulation, and collaborative work on reports and visual presentation. Although it is hoped that some classes can cover all eight lessons, each is written with other possibilities for use in your curriculum planning. The lessons can be"infused" into existing units, or taught as a whole.

Each of these lessons can be used independent of each other, or in sequence. If used individually, background information from previous lessons, that might be helpful for the teacher, is listed in the "Materials" section. Most of the Lessons cover 2-3 days. Each lesson is broken into 15 minute teaching segments.

If desired, Lessons 1-3 can be taught in sequence, focusing on the United Nations' peace efforts in general. Lessons 4-7 in sequence will give students a focus on the U.N. peace efforts specifically in Cambodia. Lesson 8 can be a culminating activity for either sequence or any one lesson.

Through the activities found in Lessons 1-3, the students explore the nature and elements of peacemaking, in their own lives, their communities, and world wide. There is special focus on the United Nations'unique role, from its inception through today, in maintaining peace. In studying Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace, students better understand the vision, mission, and challenge of creating a more peace-filled world for the 21st Century.

In Lessons 4-7, the activities focus on Cambodia, its recent past of violence, terror and war and today's challenging efforts at peace. Students witness the military failure at resolving conflict. Through roleplaying and simulation, they also experience the demands, complexities, frustrations, and successes of negotiation and diplomacy. They are invited to address today's on-going challenges to the United Nations' negotiated settlement of the Cambodia conflict, experiencing the fragility of conflict resolution.

Lesson 8 has the students working together in creating a documentary on a "world's hot spot", applying the U.N. model of peacebuilding in Cambodia. An optional activity is to develop a similar plan for school or neighborhood.

Section II is a listing of individual peacemakers. Students are encouraged to create a list of criteria and identify individuals in their own lives that are makers, keepers, and builders of peace. In Section III, a variety of resources are listed that offer other classroom strategies for peace and conflict resolution. Section IV lists age-appropropriate materials on the United Nations.

The Appendix has Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace. References to the use of this document are found in individual lessons. Any of the material can be reproduced if used in the classroom.

The production of this module was made possible through a grant from the United States Institute for Peace, and is part of the UNA-USA "Educating for Peace Project".

The United Nations Association-MN (UNA-MN) is a vital partner in support of the Project. It is this on-going commitment to education that makes it possible for hundreds of young people world-wide to learn of the work of the United Nations in seeking a more rational peaceful world.

We would like to express our appreciation to the United States Institute for Peace in providing funding, the UNA-MN for its contribution of office space, to intern Chris Obst for her research, to the UNA-MN Education Advisory Committee for on-going support and advise.

A special thank you to Jim Muldoon, UNA-USA, whose continued support, encouragement, and committment to young people , sustains us in our efforts at peace education.

We appreciate the time and effort by members of the Creative Teacher-Writers Roundtable in visioning, piloting, and critiquing this module. Special thanks to Ken Simon, Social Studies Educator, St Paul Academy, and Walter Enloe, University of Minnesota, Department of Education and the Institute of International Studies, who worked on resources, computing, and final drafting.

These materials may be copied for individual classroom use only. Permission required for any other purpose.

Mary Eileen Sorenson
Educating For Peace Project Director, Minnesota

The United Nations Peace Action Plan
Case Study-Cambodia

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Acknowledgements: The United Nations Association of Minnesota and the United Nations Association-USA wish to acknowledge support of the United States Institute of Peace.

SECTION I

CLASSROOM LESSONS

Lesson 1

Peacemakers

> **Peace is not an idea.**
> **It is people becoming different.**
> **Dr. Frank Buckman, Moral Re-Armament**

Objectives
Students will be able to:
- discuss the role of a neutral, " third party" in resolving personal disagreements.
- practice the skills and qualities of peacemaking by roleplaying
- identify "third party" individuals or groups in their school or neighborhood.
- apply the peacemaking model to a complex issue facing our nation.

Materials
- Handout 1A, **Celebrate National Discovery Day**
- Journals

Time Six 15-minute periods

Introduction

15 minutes
In journals, have students describe a recent argument, disagreement , fight they have been involved in or witnessed. They do not have to use names. Have students examine stories with these questions in mind:

1. What would each person say about what happened?
2. What does each person want? Why do they want it?
3. Was`there a solution? Peaceful or violent? Were there any other alternatives?
4. How lasting was the resolution? What contributed to its success or failure?
5. To what degree would the result be different, if the people had asked another person to listen to their differences?

Ask for volunteers to share their stories and responses to questions. (If there are none, the teacher will need to make a scenario.) Explain to the students that they will be evaluating one of the conflicts as role-played by their classmates. They will also be responsible for suggesting ways a "third party" could be helpful in the resolution of the conflict.

Learning Sequence

1. 15 minutes

Select a group of students to create a scenario based on the journal activity and questions 1-3 in introduction. Have them present to the class and have the class critique based on questions 1-4 above. Then have all students brainstorm:

* Who could act as a "third party" in this dispute?
* What qualities would be needed for this party to be helpful in solving problem?
* What would having a third party add to the resolution of the dispute?
* What might be some procedures and rules needed to assure that some resolution will come about? (Listening, paraphrasing, respect of the "whys", agree to accept solution etc)

2. 30 minutes

Have class designate a "third party" who, with the role-players, re-enacts the scenario using the class suggestions from #1. After the second presentation, have students discuss:

* What are the challenges involved in resolving disagreements you have had in your own life

* What obstacles are there to seeking a "third party" when you have a disagreement?

* To what degree are these obstacles strengthened because you are not aware of your adversary's needs and feelings?

* How difficult is it to accept and respect other people's needs and feelings when you are disagreeing? What are ways to overcome those difficulties?

*Share experiences that you have had that were not resolved. Would having a "third party" have effected the outcome? What were the short term, long term results of the experience?

* Share experiences that you have had that were successfully resolved because of a third person. What contributed to its sucess? What were the short term, long term results of the experience?

3. 15 minutes and ongoing

Have class create a list of recent disputes in school or local community. Divide the class into groups, and assign one dispute to each group.

Have each group analyse the dispute, using questions from the Introductary Activity and #1 above. If they don't have enough information, have individuals take responsibility for finding it and reporting back.

As a class, share information on "third parties". They may be agencies, committees, informal neighborhood groups etc; Who are they? How do they function? How do we access them? What qualities do they have? What power do they have?

If there was no "third party" was there need for one? Have students volunteer to contact school and community "third parties" and ask them to talk to the class on their role and responsibilty in resolving conflict.

4. 15 minutes

Distribute Handout 1A to class. Have students underline, what for them are, the three most meaningful points. In small groups, have students discuss:

* What are the points of disagreement among people in the United States concerning the celebration of Columbus Day? Be sure to look at all perspectives. Relate questions from #2 above to the discussion.

* What is the suggestion of the newspaper editors to resolve the dispute? How would each perspective above view this suggestion? To what degree can the newspaper be a "third party"?

* Share the meaningful points you underlined and explain why you did?

* "A national vision...includes not only people, but all creatures, and the land, water and air." Discuss how this vision can be applied to your own life, your school, your neighborhood, the United States.

Closure

In journal, have students free write: One thing I will do today to reduce tension or violence, resolve conflict, and create a peaceful environment in my own life, my neighborhood, or the nation.

Extension of Lesson

* Research recent winners of the Nobel Peace Prize; report and create bulletin board display. See Section II.

Handout 1A

Celebrate National Discovery Day

How about a Columbus Day compromise? Designate it National Discovery Day instead

Italian Americans need take no offense; a name change would not diminish the extraordinary achievements of the Genoese navigator of "the ocean sea." Neither would it slight the American Indian inhabitants of North America who were on the shore when Columbus arrived.

Rather, a name like Discovery Day would underscore the idea that America needs to rediscover itself.

The 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage has acted as a beneficial catalyst for this broader discussion. That America is forged from many races and cultures is not in dispute.

The dispute is over where that fact leads: toward the melting pot of middle-class achievement combined with stubborn poverty, isolation and despair, toward an ethnically balkanized country such as Canada is considering; or a third way combining racial and ethnic appreciation with common national rights, aspirations and opportunities.

Columbus Day- or Discovery Day - should be an occasion not to idealize or demonize Columbus, Indians or others, but to explore the relationship among peoples who share a common setting. It is not a time to say wistfully, "Sink the Ships," as a local theater titled a performance. It is not a time to dwell soley on the voyage, but to recognize the consequences of the landing on the life of the continent and its citizens.

Many descendents of immigrants worry that their heritage is denigrated by challenges to the Columbus story of their childhood. Some Indians worry that they will be forgotten after the quincentennial hoopla. Neither need be true.

Discovery is a dynamic concept. For America to grow as a nation, future explorations must include those that look inward. The pain as well as the adventure of the nation's past must be excavated for new, more inclusive foundations to be built.

The result must be a national vision that includes not only all people, but all creatures, and the land, water and air. Much of this is the story native Americans have been trying to communicate to the immigrants for 500 years.

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Lesson 2

The United Nations: Successes and Failures in Securing Peace

> **"We, the Peoples of the United Nations are determined...**
> **To establish conditions under which justice and respect**
> **for the obligations arising from treateies and other sources**
> **of international law can be maintained "**
> **Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations, 1945**

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- understand the origins, purpose and nature of the United Nations.
- identify today's issues challenging the U.N. in its role as a neutral, "third party".
- demonstrate, through group reports and visual presentations, the on-going U.N. role as peacemaker.
- use report materials as resources for future lessons.

Materials

- Handout 2A, **What is the United Nations?**
- Handout 2B, **The United Nations: Origin, Purposes, and Principles**
- Handout 2C, **Acceptance Speech of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali**
- Background material and resources for Oral Reports
- Review information from Lesson 1
- Appendix, **Agenda for Peace** (Save for other lessons)

Vocabulary

- "sovereign states"- United Natons word for nations, countries

Time Three 15 minute periods
Outside time to do group project (see below)
Some outside or class time to work on group project (see below))
One to two class periods to présent group projects (see below)

Introduction

15 minutes
Review with students, world conditions at the end of World War II in 1945. Distribute Handout 2A and after reading it, discuss which conditions this new world organization hoped to address.

Remind students that the United Nations is NOT a world government; that it is a gathering of SOVEREIGN states and what it can do depends on the common ground that that they create among them; that the fundamental sovereignty and integrity of member states are respected; that its actions are those of a collective commitment to peace and security; that its successes are measured by its political will to seek solutions.

Learning Sequence

15 minutes

1. Have the students create five small groups. Distribute Handout 2B and read the Preamble together. Discuss examples from today's world that offer challenges to "We the people of the United Nations" in reaching the goals listed. Have students read Handout 2C or read excerpts to them.

What are the similarities and differences between today's challenges and those facing the "We the people" in 1945? Can the U.N. be considered a "third party" in disputes as discussed in Lesson 1? What are the similarities and differences between the U.N. and other "third parties" as discussed in Lesson 1? To what degree has the U.N. been a peacemaker?

Have each group "pick out of a hat" one of the following topics:

- The story of the creation of the U.N. in 1945
- The impact of the Cold War on theSecurity Council's role in maintaining peace and security
- The changing nature of the General Assembly due to decolonization in the 60's and independence movements of the 80's.
- The World Court as a resource for peaceful settlements of disputes
- The leadership of the Secretary-General immediately following WWII, the 60's and present day.

2. Explain the following assignment:, **Group Oral Report**

TASKS

1. Research topic and report information to small group
2. Group design of a 5-8 minute presentation of material. Students in the group vote on two major points to present. The rest of the information can be part of the visual display.

3. Selection of presenter(s) of material
4. Selection, design, construction of Visual aids: Information, U.N. Logo, pictures, charts, timelines
5. Three evaluation questions on oral and visual presentation for other class members.

Students in each group will negotiate who will do which tasks.

RESOURCES

Handout 2A, The United Nations: Origin, Purposes, and Principles

Handout 2C, Acceptance Speech of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Agenda for Peace (pp. 5-10), Appendix

Basic Facts About the U.N. - Available through the United Nations Publications,Sales Section, Room DC-2-0853, New York, New York, 10017, 212-963-8302.

Materials on the United Nations-school media center

Closure

Possible timetable:
1.They will need about a week to gather information and identify visual aids.
2. One class period (or outside time), in small groups, to share information, organize it, select presenter(s), design visual aids, and develop questions.
3. One to two class periods to present materials and to have class answer questions.

Or another option: Have students set up stations on which they display information and where they speak about their topic. When class has copy of all questions from each small group, have students go to each station to discuss and/or discover "answers".

Resources

* Understanding the United Nations, a teaching module for grades 7-12. UNA-MN, 1929 S. 5th St, Minneapolis, MN., 612-333-2824 or UNA-USA, Jim Muldoon, Model U.N. and Youth Programs, 485 Fifth Ave, New York, New York, 10017, 212-697-3232.
* Guide to Delegate Preparation: UNA-USA, Jim Muldoon, Model U.N. and Youth Programs, 485 Fifth Ave, New York, New York, 10017, 212-697-3232.
* Charter of ther United Nations: United Nations Publications,Sales Section, Room DC-2-0853, New York, New York, 10017, 212-963-8302.

Handout 2A

What is the United Nations?

The United Nations is the international organization of States (countries) founded after the Second World War for the purposes of preventing war, maintaining international peace and security, and promoting social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, developing friendly relations among nations and achieving international cooperation. The Member States are bound together by their adherence to the United Nations Charter and its principles. The U.N. began its work in 1945 with only 51 members. Today, there are over 175.

The United Nations is **not** a super-state or a world government. It has no powers that are not given to it by its Member States. It can only act when they decide it should. The members choose whether or not to use the U.N.'s procedures, carry out its decisions, even whether or not to observe the provisions of the Charter they have sworn to uphold.

The United Nations proper is composed of six principle organs:

The **General Assembly** is the main deliberative organ. It is comprised of representatives of all Member States, each of which has one vote. Decisions on important questions, such as recommendations on peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters, requires a two-thirds majority. Decisions on other questions are reached by a simple majority.

The **Security Council** has primary responsibility, under the Charter, for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council has fifteen members: five permanent members -- **China, France, Russia (formerly the USSR), the United Kingdom, and the United States** -- and 10 elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. Each member of the Council has one vote. Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the 15 members. Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. This is the rule of the "great Power unanimity" often referred to as the "veto" power. If a permanent member does not support a decision but does not wish to block it through a veto, it may abstain. Under the Charter, all Member States of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. While other organs of the U.N. make recommendations to governments, the Council alone has the power to take decisions which members are obligated to carry out.

The **Economic and Social Council** was established by the Charter as the principal organ to coordinate the economic and social work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and institutions. The Council has 54 members who serve for three years. Eighteen members are elected each year for a three-year term to replace 18 members whose term has expired. Voting in the Council is by simple majority; each member has one vote.

In setting up an International Trusteeship System, the Charter established the **Trusteeship Council** as one of the main organs of the United Nations and assigned to it the task of supervising the administration of "trust territories" placed under the Trusteeship System. Major goals of the System was to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development toward self-government or independence. The aims of the Trusteeship System have been fulfilled with all of the territories attaining independence, either as separate countries or by joining neighboring independent nations.

Handout 2A

The **International Court of Justice** is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. Its Statute is an integral part of the United Nations Charter. All countries which are parties to the Statute of the Court (which automatically includes all U.N. Member States) can be parties to cases before it. Other countries can refer cases to it under conditions laid down by the Security Council. In addition, the Security Council may recommend that a legal dispute be referred to the Court. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council can ask the Court for an advisory opinion on any legal question. The Court consists of 15 Judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. They are chosen on the basis of their qualifications, not on the basis of nationality, and care is taken to ensure that the principal legal systems of the world are represented in the Court. No two Judges can be nationals of the same country. The Judges serve for a term of nine years and may be re-elected. They cannot engage in any other occupation during their term of office.

The **Secretariat** services the other organs of the United Nations and administers the programs and policies laid down by them. At its head is the **Secretary-General**, who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The work of the Secretariat is as varied as the list of problems dealt with by the United Nations. It includes: administering peace-keeping operations; organizing international conferences on problems of world-wide concern; surveying world economic trends and problems; preparing studies on such subjects as human rights, disarmament and development; and interpreting speeches, translating documents and supplying the world's communications media with information about the United Nations.

Sources: *Image and Reality (United Nations)*
Basic Facts About the United Nations (United Nations)

Handout 2B

THE UNITED NATIONS:
ORIGIN, PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

The name "United Nations" was devised by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used in the "Declaration by United Nations" of January 1, 1942, during the Second World War, when representatives of 26 nations pledged their Governments to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers.

The United Nations Charter was drawn up by the representatives of 50 countries at the United Nations Conference on International Organization, which met at San Francisco from April 25 to June 26, 1945. They deliberated on the basis of proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States at Dumbarton Oaks in August-October 1944. The Charter was signed on June 26, 1945, by the representatives of the 50 countries. (Poland, not represented at the Conference, signed it late and became one of the original 51 Member States.)

The United Nations officially came into existence on October 24, 1945, when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States and by a majority of other signatories; October 24 is celebrated each year as United Nations Day.

Preamble to the U.N. Charter

The Preamble to the Charter expresses the ideals and common aims of all the people whose Governments joined together to form the United Nations:

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS determined **to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war**, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and **to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights**, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and the nations large and small, and **to establish conditions under which justice and respects for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom**, and for these ends **to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples**, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations."

Purposes and Principles of the United Nations

The purposes of the United Nations, as set forth in the Charter, are:

- -- to maintain international peace and security;
- -- to develop friendly relations among nations;
- -- to cooperate internationally in solving international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- -- to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

The United Nations acts in accordance with the following principles:

- -- It is based on the sovereign equality of all its Members.
- -- All Members are to fulfill, in good faith, their Charter obligations.
- -- They are to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and without endangering peace, security, and justice.
- -- They are to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against any other State.
- -- They are to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter, and shall not assist States against which the United Nations is taking preventative or enforcement action.
- -- The United Nations shall ensure that States which are not Members act in accordance with these principles in so far as it is necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- -- Nothing in the Charter authorizes the United Nations to intervene in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

SOURCE: The U.N. *Charter* and *Basic Facts About the United Nations* (New York: United Nations).

Handout 2C

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

Allow me, at the outset, to extend to you, Mr. President, my most sincere thanks for the kind word you have addressed to me. I have been deeply touched by your kind thoughts and good wishes.

It was a source of deep satisfaction for me when the Security Council, in its resolution 720, unanimously recommended me as the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations. The unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the resolution endorsing this recommendation is indeed a great honor for me.

On the personal level, I am grateful to each Member State of the United Nations that honored me with this great trust. I am only too conscious of the magnitude of this task from this very moment.

I do not claim to elevate the vision of the Utopian city called for by the Islamic thinker, Al-Farabi, to that of a Utopian world, for I cannot promise to go beyond what is feasible and what is possible. Despite the close ties that bind me to optimism, my ties to realism are even closer.

In the name of every African, I wish to express appreciation for the opportunity afforded to Africa, through my election, to take part in the service of the international community. Africa feels ready to make its contribution by virtue of its creative ability and recent achievements in the international arena.

On the other hand, based on the premise of equal opportunity for all members of the family of nations, and in a spirit that goes beyond mere equality and rises to the level of equity that should permeate the fibre of international relations, a true challenge has been presented to Africa.

Needless to say, I see in my election a special appreciation for Egypt and recognition of the role she plays on the international scene. The fact that I belong to Egypt, an Arab African State that borders the Mediterranean Sea, which, throughout the ages has been a crossroads for many cultures and has been the crucible of civilization and religions, imbues me with the faith which every Egyptian wholeheartedly embraces -- that is, faith in peace and security as a goal, in dialogue and negotiation as an approach, and in harmony and cooperation as a hope.

It is my fervent desire, as I discharge my duty, to communicate this cultural legacy through mutual cooperation and to raise the banner of peace wherever there is underdevelopment, conflict and tension in the world.

There are many areas of tension, conflict and confrontation on the international scene -- areas where blood has been shed, where human creativity is destroyed, and where the spirit of cooperation, integration and good neighborliness face grave challenges. There are also peoples that are still denied the exercise of their inalienable rights.

I should like to underline four basic issues that confront the international community as I see them:

First, there is the need to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security in conformity with the Charter. This requires the strengthening of the United Nations machinery in a manner that will enable it to fulfill its important objectives not only in peace-keeping but in peace-making and in peace-building as well. [This will require] active preventive diplomacy, with a view to monitoring the development of crises and devising adequate means to defuse them and prevent their escalation.

Secondly, there is the necessity to strive for the attainment of international economic development in all its aspects. It is my intention to address this issue with vigour in order to contribute to finding ways and means to narrow the gap between the rich North and the poor South. Tackling the crippling problem of international debt is central to achieving a healthy world economy. Equally important, issues of environment and development must be seriously addressed so as to stop any further deterioration of our planet.

Thirdly, I shall take with utmost seriousness my role as chief administrative officer of this organization. It is imperative that the sole criterion to apply in the employment of men and women be the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. It is said that the United Nations is a mirror image of its Member States, and their counsel and support are essential if we are to meet the standards they rightfully expect.

I welcome and will carefully study every proposal, from within and without this House, for streamlining our operations, eliminating what is wasteful or obsolete, and ensuring that the mandates entrusted to the Secretary-General are carried out faithfully, accurately, and without delay.

I come to the post of Secretary-General inspired by the Charter and full of hope, faith, and commitment -- commitment to join with Member States, with the Secretariat, and with the "peoples of the United Nations" in search of intellectual creativity, political imagination and dynamism to help our Organization meet the challenge of a rapidly changing world.

The vision of the Charter of the United Nations is as valid today, after the end of the cold war, as it was in 1945, before the beginning of the cold war. I call for the cooperation and assistance of all who can help to transform the noble objectives of the Charter into reality.

Fourthly, I wish to stress the United Nations role in strengthening fundamental freedoms and democratic institutions, which constitute an essential and indispensable stage in the economic and social development of nations.

If there is no development without democracy, there can also be no democracy without development. Although it is difficult to determine whether to start with development in order to obtain democracy, or to begin democracy in order to obtain development, it is obvious that the quarantee of fundamental freedoms and the protection of the human rights of both men and women constitutes a prerequisite that the United Nations must promote.

That being said, we must not see democracy as a magic potion which will cure all ills. Nor must democracy devour its institutions and degenerate into ethnic or tribal conflicts that create a micro-nationalism which will hinder all development, peace, and security.

Finally, United Nations activities to promote democracy must not become a means of intervention in the internal affairs of Member States.

We have mentioned the role of the United Nations in strengthening democratic institutions within Member States, and we must also stress the importance of democracy at the inter-State level. The democratization of international relations should complete and amplify the democratization of national institutions. This dual process can create a new dynamic for national peace and stability, which is as important as international peace and stability.

I should like to conclude the brief statement with three comments:

First of all, I wish to pay tribute to Javier Perez de Cuellar for his admirable achievements throughout a decade in the service of peace. I owe him my thanks for the wise and fraternal advice he has so generously given me, and from which I shall continue to benefit.

Secondly, I wish to apologize for not speaking in Chinese, Spanish or Russian in order to relay this message to those who speak these official languages.

Finally, I wish to say, and to repeat to the international staff, to the representatives of Member States, and to the heads of the specialized agencies that we shall work together to revitalize the United Nations, that we shall fight together for peace and security, that together we shall help our world Organization to face challenges of the twenty-first century.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General

21

Lesson 3

The United Nations: A Four Part Peace Action Plan

> **"I have faith in peace and security as a goal,
> in dialogue and negotiation as an approach,
> and in harmony and cooperation as a hope."**
>
> **Boutros Boutros-Ghali**
> **U.N. Secretary General 1992**

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- create a Peace Poster with the words of the Preamble of the U.N. Charter, their own words for peace andexamples of peace efforts, locally and globally.
- create a chart elaborating on the U.N. Secretary General's Agenda for Peace.
- collectively, present an oral report on the "Agenda for Peace".
- create a mural from their posters, charts and report information, applying the Peace Plan to their school and community.

Materials

- News sections newspapers and magazines (to be collected over several weeks)
- Appendix, **Agenda for Peace**
- Handout 2B, **The United Nations: Origin, Purposes, and Principles**
- Handout 2C, **Acceptance Speech of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali**
- Large Paper, glue, markers
- Visual displays from Lesson 2 (optional)
- Resource materials on the U.N.

Vocabulary

Boutros Boutros-Ghali: Current Secretary-General of the United Nations; An Egyptian diplomat, Mr. Ghali is the first Secretary General from the African continent and the Arab community; author of **Agenda for Peace**.

Time Eight 15 minute periods
Homework assignment
On-going class activity

Introduction

15 minutes

(Teacher note:Background information on the UN can be found in Lesson 2)

Have students brainstorm a list of word associations when they think of peace. Then read the Preamble of the U.N. Charter (2B) and add to their list, words used in the Preamble to express the goals for "securing peace" as written in 1945.

Learning Sequence

30 minutes
1. In small groups, have students choose one of the words listed for peace and find examples of that in the news magazines and papers. Also find one example of U.N. peacekeeping efforts and create a poster/collage with the words and pictures.

Caption the poster with a quote from the Preamble of the U.N. Charter. Post. Have students discuss handout 2C as it relates to the peace poster/collage.

15 minutes
2. Have students discuss the following in relation to the posters, their own lives or their community:

* Is there any example of peacekeeping that shows attempts at preventing conflict from spreading? One that addresses root causes of conflict?

* Is there any example that shows the parties in conflict being brought together to negotiate, discuss differences?

* Is there any example of U.N. presence in an area of conflict?

* Is there any example of actions that are maintaining peace rather than creating peace or resolving conflict?

30 minutes
3. Distribute Agenda for Peace to students in small groups. Have them read pp.11-12 and relate to their discussion in #2 above. Then have each group read pp 1-10, underlining points where clarafication is needed, definitions explained, or more information needed.

Have each small group work together on clarifying, explaining sharing information, and paraphrasing the major points. Students may need to check U.N. information from Lesson 2 or ask other small groups for assistance.

After students have read material, have them discuss the following:

* What is the purpose of the U.N. Secretary-General in writing this **Agenda for Peace?**

* What was the major stumbling block to the U.N. fulfilling its original purpose? While that was being removed, what other "patterns of contradiction " have arisen? (p. 6)

- In your own words, list the points of the U.N. plan in preventing, resolving conflict, and preserving peace. (p. 7-8) How does the UN hope to implement the plan? (p 8-10) Using the definitions on p11-12, create a chart that encompasses the four areas of the U.N. peace action plan and represents the spirit of "securing and maintaining peace" as mentioned in the Charter. Post the charts.

In their small groups, have students chose to be responsible for one of the following readings on the U.N. peace action plan in Agenda for Peace:

a. Preventive Diplomacy (p13)
b. Peacemaking (p.20)
c. Peacekeeping (p.28)
d. Post -conflict Peace Building (p 32)

Have them read and prepare to discuss the assigned reading as a homework assignment. Explain that each one of them will share information by reporting (3-5 minutes) their reading assignment to the small group the next day.

30 minutes
4. Have all students who read Reading (a), Preventive Diplomacy, get together and compare notes, check questions, clarify vocabulary, and **create a list of 3-4 quide questions for people to follow** as they give report. Have students who read other parts do the same.

Students then go back to their own small group and give reports, with group members using quide questions, on the four parts of the U.N. Peace Action Plan. Allow time for class questions and clarifications.

Closure
Have students study their peace posters and U.N. Peace Action Plan charts and add any significant points made in the small group reports. With the poster and charts, create a mural that the class will add to as examples of peace action (keeping in mind the four points of prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding) appear in their own lives, the neighborhood, nation or world.

Extension of Lesson
- Identify agencies in area that work for peace; add them to mural.
- Read "Mission Impossible", an article in the St Paul Pioneer Press (November 15, 1992) critical of U.N.efforts. Report to class and brainstorm how can it improve?

Resources
- Basic Facts About the United Nations: United Nations Publications,Sales Section, Room DC-2-0853, New York, New York, 10017, 212-963-8302.
- We the Peoples: A Citizen's Guide to the U.N.: UNA-USA, Publications Department, 485 Fifth Ave, New York, New York, 10017, 212-697-3232.

Lesson 4

The Story of Cambodia

Objectives

Students wil be able to:

- familiarze themselves with the geography and culture of Cambodia as part of the story of South East Asia.
- research and present group oral reports on the recent political history of Cambodia and the South East Asian region.
- create an updated "glossary of key players" and timeline based on the group reports.

Materials

- Handout 4A, **Map of Cambodia**
- Handout 4B, **Reading on Cambodia**
- Handout 4C, **Key People, Places and Events: 1953-1993**
- Handout 4D, **Key "Players"**
- Handout 4E, **Parallel History Chart**.
- World Map
- Large butcher block paper
- Media Center resources for research
- Journals

Time Seven 15 minute periods
Several days (classtime or homework) for research

Vocabulary: (These and other important vocabulary can be found on Handout 4C)

- Kampuchea
- Khmer people
- Khmer Rouge
- Prince Sihanouk

Introduction

15 minutes
With a world map, explore with students, the location of South East Asia. Have students name countries in the area. List countries on board.

Put students in small groups, and distribute the map of South East Asia (Handout 4A). On map, have students put locations that are listed on board.

Distribute Handout 4C to students. Explain to them that this is the story of Cambodia in recent years, a story that tells them of key events, people and places. For now, have them circle place names mentioned in Handout 4C and locate them on their maps.

Have students keep maps and other handouts in journals for reference.

Learning Sequence

30 minutes
1. Explain to students that for the next few classes, they will be exploring the story of Cambodia, its tragic recent history, and today's attempts, by the Cambodian people and the United Nations, to build a just and peaceful nation and to reconstruct their country.

Assure students that they need not become experts on the story of Cambodia. They will have a number of handouts that will be easy-reference whenever they need to clarify.

The point of the next few lessons is to appreciate the challenges of military, diplomatic, and negotiated processes in soving conflits. A second point is to appreciate the value of a neutral, third party in negotiating conflict.

2. Brainstorm with students what they know of Cambodia's recent history. List on board. Have students read Handout 4C with special attention to the key points in the story (in **bold**). Add "key points" to list on board.

3. Having read the Handout and listed "key points", have students formulate questions they have about the story of Cambodia... questions that they are to keep in mind for the following activity. It might be best to have them write out these questions in journals and/or on board.

4. Create small groups of at least six students each. Explain to students that they will be both learning and teaching the story of Cambodia in their small groups. Distribute Handouts 4B, 4C, and 4D.

Using the handouts as resources, each students choses to be responsible for researching one of the following topics:

a. Prince Sihanouk leadership of neutral Cambodia 1953-1969(Handout 4C)
b. United States involvement in Cambodia 1969-1973 (Handout 4C)
c. Khmer Rouge civil war and bloody reign 1972-1978 (Handout 4C)
d. Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia 1978-1989 (Handout 4C)
e. Cambodia-the land and the people (Handout 4B)
f. Glossary of key people and events in the Story of Cambodia (Handout 4D)

Explain that each one of them will share information by reporting (3-5 minutes), within the next few days, to their small group.

Students with topics e-f (abobve)will share information the following day. Students researching topics a-d (above) will need several days to prepare reports.

45 minutes
5. Students with topics e-f give reports. Rest of period these students will work on creating a timeline and glossary, based on information from reports, for display in classroom.

During this time students, who are researching topics a-d, get together with others doing the same report (eg: all those doing topic-a) and compare notes, check questions, clarify vocabulary, and identify "good" resources. (You may want to do this for several class periods)

45 minutes
6. Students give reports to their own small group. Allow time for questions and clarifications. Update timeline, glossary displays.

Closure
In journals, have students write on What I have Learned of War and Peace from the story of Cambodia.

Extension of Lesson

- Invite speakers of the Cambodian community to your class to share their experiences

- The story of the Khmer Rouge is the story of genocide. Research the stories of other genocides of the 20th century. Report to class.

Resources

- U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (DPI/919), Department of Public Information, Public Inquiries Unit, Room GA-058, New York, N,Y., 10017.

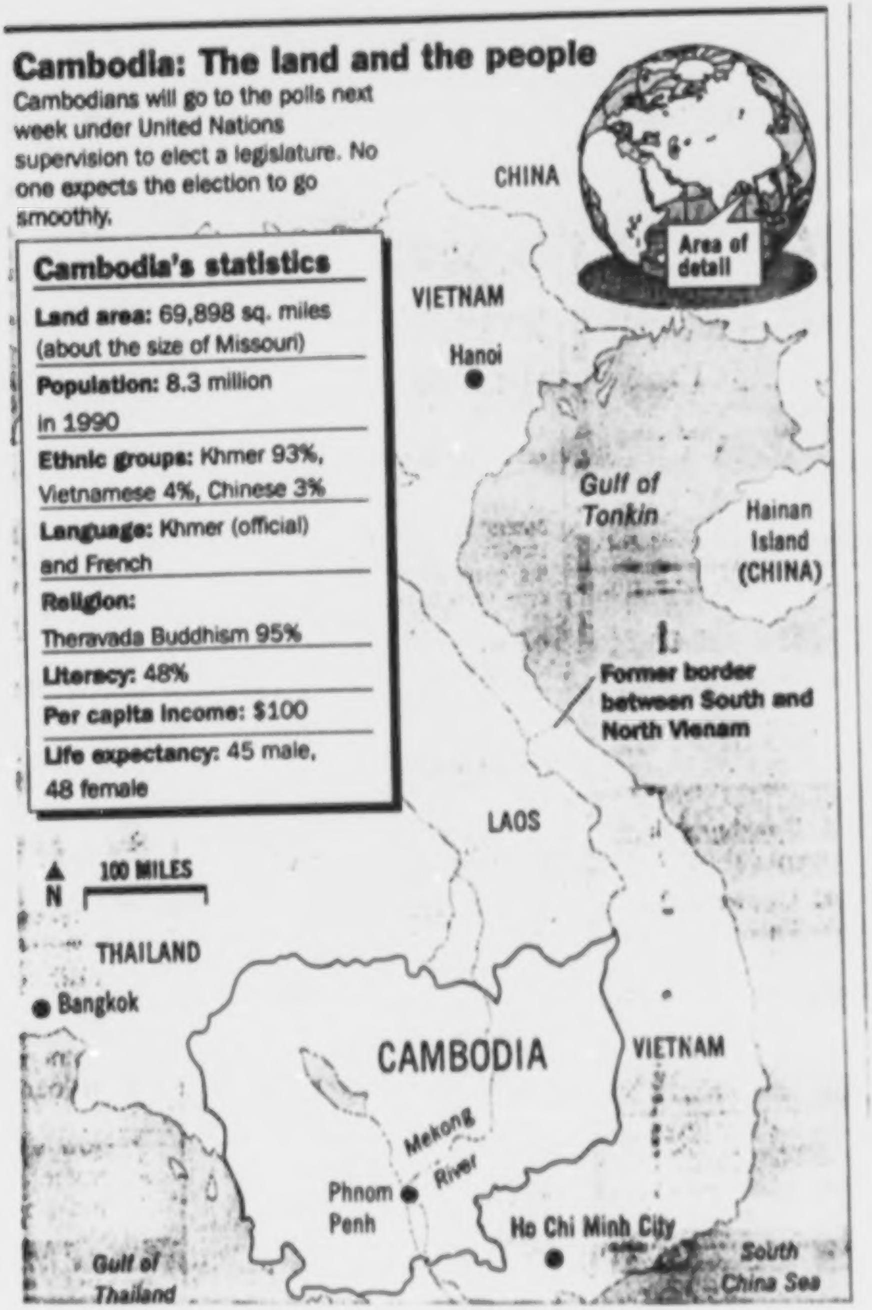
- Angkor: An Introduction, George Coerdes, Oxford University Press, 1986.

- The Ancient Khmer Empire, L.P. Briggs, 1951.

- A History of Cambodia, David P. Chandler, Westview Press, 1992.

Handout 4A

Map of Cambodia



Cambodia: The land and the people

Cambodians will go to the polls next week under United Nations supervision to elect a legislature. No one expects the election to go smoothly.

Cambodia's statistics

Land area: 69,898 sq. miles (about the size of Missouri)

Population: 8.3 million in 1990

Ethnic groups: Khmer 93%, Vietnamese 4%, Chinese 3%

Language: Khmer (official) and French

Religion: Theravada Buddhism 95%

Literacy: 48%

Per capita income: $100

Life expectancy: 45 male, 48 female

CHINA
Area of detail
VIETNAM
Hanoi
Gulf of Tonkin
Hainan Island (CHINA)
Former border between South and North Vienam
LAOS
N
100 MILES
THAILAND
Bangkok
CAMBODIA
VIETNAM
Mekong River
Phnom Penh
Ho Chi Minh City
Gulf of Thailand
South China Sea

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Handout 4B

Reading on Cambodia

Cambodia is one of the smaller nations in Southeast Asia. Geographically, in the East, North and West, Cambodia is bordered by South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand; in the South it is bordered by the Gulf of Siam. Its boundaries represent all the remains from the former land of Cham who became a larger Khmer Empire of today. For centuries, Cambodia has been a monarchy, with the king the top of the power. The actual power of the sovereign was interrupted for almost 100 years during the French domination (1863-1953), but during that period the people of Cambodia always considered their king as their temporal and spiritual leader.

Cambodia has 66,000 square miles, approximately the size of Washington State. The seasonal alternation of winds called monsoons determines both the rainfall and temperature throughout the country during the year. The Southwest or rainy monsoon which reaches Cambodia in May and lasts until October, brings heavy rainfall throughout the country. The Northwest or dry monsoon blows in from October to April and brings the dry season. The normal temperature is 80 degrees F.

About half of the country is filled with forests and woods and, of the 24,000 square miles of arable land, only one-third is under cultivation. Near the center of the country is the Tonle Sap, the largest fresh-water lake in Southeast Asia; the Mekong River traverses through Cambodia from North to South. The central portion is the plainland where most people live. There are rivers and tributaries in this area. Mountain ranges exist in the East, Northeast and Southwest of the country.

Cambodia has a population of 7 million. The numerically dominant ethnic group is the Khmer with 85% of the total population. Chinese and Vietnamese each make up 7%, and the remaining 8% includes the Khmer Loeu tribal groups, Cam-Malays, Thai, Laotians and Filipinos.

Khmer is the national language, spoken by over 90% of the population but French is the accepted language in the intellectual and professional circles. Most of the secondary and post-secondary education programs were conducted in French. Members of the various minority groups speak their native language but they can speak Khmer as well. The Khmer Loeu Tribal groups speak a number of languages, some of them were distantly related to Khmer, although they are not mutually intelligible.

Religion in Cambodia is very important. The Theravada Buddhism is the official national religion and is practiced by at least 85% of the population. Other religions such as Moslems, Mahayana, Buddhism and Roman Catholic were also practiced by different small groups of people. The Khmer Loeu practices a veriety of animist beliefs.

The economy of Cambodia is agrarian with rice, a popular product of Cambodia. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy and employes 4/5 of the male population. The soils are fertile and the climate is well suited to intensive growing of crops, vegetables and fruits. The harvest is used mainly for rural household subsistance. Rice and corn surpluses are exported, and rubber is grown on large state-owned plantations, also for export. Industry is small in scale with considerable state participation. Industry is confined largely to the processing of agriculture products particularly rice, fish, and rubber and making a few consumer items.

Handout 4C

Key People, Places and Events: 1953-1992

More information for terms with an * can be found on Handout 4D.
Terms in bold (eg **Geneva Conference**) are key events in the story of Cambodia.

1953: Cambodia gains independence from France.
1954: **Geneva Conference** on Indochina (co-chaired by England and USSR*) recognizes Cambodia's **neutrality**.
1955: Sihanouk* abdicates as King of Cambodia and agrees to rule as Prince and Head of State of Cambodia.
1963: **Opponents** of Sihanouk (including Pol Pot*) leave Phnom Penh to join other insurgents in the jungles and mountains of Cambodia.
1967: Sihanouk's forces crush a **peasant revolt** in Battambang province.
1969: (March 18) **United States* bombing** of Cambodia begins, in secret, aimed at North Vietnamese-backed * **"base camps"** on Cambodian territory.
1970: (March 19) Sihanouk overthrown in a **coup** by Lon Nol*.
(March 23) Sihanouk announces formation of **United Front** with his former enemy, theKhmer Rouge* led by Pol Pot. Their goal: opposition to Lon Nol's government.
(April 30) United States and South Viet Namese* **troops invade Cambodia**, without Lon Nol's knowledge or approval, in order to attack "base camps" of North Vietnamese. US troops withdraw on June 30.
1972: Two million Cambodians made homeless by the **civil war** between Lon Nol and the Khmer Rouge.
1973: (January 27) Paris Agreement signed, ending the war in Vietnam*. **Article 20** called on all foreign countries to "put an end to all military activities in Cambodia".
(February 8) Massive **US bombing** of Cambodia resumed after halt in January, 1973.
(August 15) US bombing ceases.
1975: (April 17) **Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge enter Phnom Penh**, force Lon Nol to flee, and begin emptying major towns and cities. Beginning of the four year **Cambodian "holocaust"** during which an estimated 1-3 million Cambodians were executed and thousands put into re-education, and forced- labor camps by Pol Pot government.
(May 3) Fighting begins between Kampuchea* and Viet Nam.
(September 9) Sihanouk returns as nominal Head of State of "Democratic Kampuchea"* under the control of the Khmer Rouge.
1976: (April 4) Sihanouk forced to resign and go into exile.
1977: Heavy fighting between Kampuchea and Viet Nam along border.

1978: (December 25) **Viet Nam invades** Kampuchea.

1979: (January 7) **Viet Nam captures Phnom Penh.** Cambodian Heng Samrin* is installed as Head of the new "People's Republic of Kampuchea"*. Vietnamese and Cambodian **troops drive the Khmer Rouge towards the Thai* border**. Cambodian aid efforts begin, initially from Vietnam and the eastern European bloc countries and, later, international and Western agencies. Word of the Khmer Rouge atrocities slowly receive **international press coverage.**

1979-1981: "Democratic Kampuchea" (Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge government now driven to the Tai border) is seated at the **United Nations**.

1982: Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, exiled Prince Sihanouk, and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front(KPLNF) led by Son Sann* form a **coalition government** in exile which they name "Democratic Kampuchea"* (A name previously used by the Khmer Rouge government in exile.) This coalition government became the recognized Cambodian government in the United Nations.

1979-1989: Vietnamese-backed regime continues to rule Kampuchea in Phnom Penh. **Cambodian refugees** flood camps along Thai border. Frequent armed attacks by the **Khmer Rouge (backed by China*)** in western Cambodia as well as against the government in Phnom Penh. The **armed opposition group,** Khmer People's National Liberation Front , led by Son Sann receives backing from the United States.

1989: All Vietnam troops leave Kampuchea. Area again referred to as Cambodia. Leader in Phnom Penh, Hun Sen*, renounces communism.

1979-1990: On-going **negotiations with the United Nations** and all parties of the Cambodian conflict.

1990: (September 10) The **formation** of the **Supreme National Council of Cambodia*,SNC,** which replaces the coalition government formed in 1982, as the unique legitimate and sovereign source of authority in Cambodia. The SNC is recognized by the United Nations and the international community. The SNC is comprised of the Khmer Rouge, Prince Sihanouk (unanimously elected President of SNC), the Phnom Penh government (Hun Sen) and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (Son Sann).

1991: (October 23) **"The Agreements** on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict"* **signed** by the SNC and 18 other nations* in the presence of the United Nations Secretary General*.

(October 31) The United Nations Security Council resolution 718 calls "on all parties to comply fully" with the agreements.

(November 20) The United Nations General Assembly adopts resolution 46/18 fully supporting the agreements, "marking an historic occasion for the people of Cambodia".

(The detailed story of the U.N. negotiations and final agreements(1979-1992) are covered in Lessons 5 and 6)

Handout 4D

Key Players and Events

* Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict: A four part document signed by the SNC and 18 nations, through the efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General, and approved by the Security Council and General Assemply of the United Nations in 1991. Culmination of 13 years of negotiation.

First steps in implementation in Cambodia begun in 1992. A precedent setting document inthat the SNC "has delegated all powers necessary to ensure implementation of the Agreement". **(The detailed story of the U.N. negotiations and final agreements(1979-1992) are covered in Lessons 5 and 6)**

* China (People's Republic); Continued military help to Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge from 1979 on. Uncertainty on present role since the Khmer Rouge became partners in SNC.

Along with 17 other nations, signed the1991U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. And later , as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council adopted the agrreement.

* Democratic Kampuchea: The name given to Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge period 1975-79. Subsequently the name of the exiled Khmer Rouge "government" seated at the U.N., 1979-81. From 1982-1991, comprised a Coalition of the Khmer Rouge, Son Sann, and Sihanouk, seated at the U.N.

* France: One of the colonizing powers of Indochina (today's Southeast Asia). Defeated by Ho Chi Minh and his followers , Viet Minh, in 1954. Leader in creating the Paris Peace Conference (1989-1991) which resulted in the 1991 Peace Agreement for Cambodia.

Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. And later , as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council adopted the agrreement.

* Hun Sen : President of the Vietnamese -backed regime in Phnom Penh, the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 1985 -1992 . Renounced Communism in 1989 when Vietnam troops left Cambodia. In 1991, agreed to be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement.

* Heng Samrin: Communist President of the Vietnamese -backed regime in Phnom Penh, the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 1979-1985. Formerly a member of

the pro-Vietnamese faction of the Khmer Rouge. Took part in an unsuccessful uprising against the Pol Pot regime in 1978, before defecting to Vietnam. Succeeded by Hun Sen in 1985 .

* Khmer: Used interchangably with "Kampuchean", as in "Khmer people".

* Khmer Rouge: Communist insurgent movement in the Cambodian countryside that finally took power in 1975 under the leadership of Pol Pot. Brutal execution of millions of Cambodians during its regime.

When they were driven out of power by the Vietnamese-led forces in 1979, became dominate partner in the Coalition government in exile, seated at the U.N. Although a member of the 1991 SNC, and signer of the 1991 U.N. Cambodia Peace Agreement, the Khmer Rouge continue to be a military threat to peace efforts.

* Lon Nol: Minister of Defense and Prime Minister under Sihanouk before 1970. Overthrew Sihanouk in coup, March, 1970. Prime Minister, Commander-in-chief and Head of State of the "Khmer Republic" 1970-1975. Fled to Hawaii, April, 1975.

* North Viet Nam: Designated in the 1954 Geneva Accords as an area north of the 54th parallel. With South Vietnam,promised a nation-wide election in1956 which was cancelled. Center of the Vietnamese Communist Party, led by nationalist Ho Chi Minh. Capitol city, Hanoi.

Led guerella-like war against the United States and South Vietnam from 1954-1973. Thought to be using "base camps" in Cambodia to transport troops into South Vietnam (1970-1973). Signed the 1973 Peace Accords. United Vietnam in 1975, with its capitol in Hanoi. (See Handout 4E for details of Vietnam War)

* People's Republic of Kampuchea: The name given to Kampuchia under the Heng Samrin/Hun Sen government, 1979-1989.

* Pol Pot: A Cambodian Marxist who fled Phnom Penh in 1963. Leader of the Khmer Rouge. Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, 1963-1978. Prime Minister of "Democratic Kampuchea", 1976-78.

Responsible for the Cambodian "holocaust", the re-education camps and forced labor camps from 1975-1979. Commander-in-chief of a 30,000 Khmer Rouge army. Led the Cambodian faction supported by China. Member of the 1982 Coalition in exile that represented Kampuchea in U.N.

In 1991, agreed to have the Khmer Rouge be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement. Remains a questionable part of the peacebuilding efforts.

* Sihanouk, Prince Norodom: King of Cambodia, 1941-1955. Abdicated in 1955 and ruled as Prince and Head of State until deposed by Lon Nol in 1970. Head of government in exile from 1970-1975. Returned to Phnom Penh as nominal Head of State under the Khmer Rouge in 1975.

Forced into retirement in 1976. From 1982-1991, President of the exiled "Democratic Kampuchea" (the exiled government seated at the U.N.), in coalition with the Khmer Rouge and Son Sann. Maintained up to 3,000 troops along Thai border.

In 1991, agreed to be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement. Chosen by the SNC to be President of the SNC during transition period of U.N. peacebuilding efforts. Becomes Head of State in 1993 and continues to be extremely popular with the Cambodian people.

* Son Sann: Former Prime Minister of Cambodia, under Sihanouk. President of the "Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). Led the Cambodian faction supported by the United States. In 1982 became Prime Minister of "Democratic Kampuchea" (the exiled government seated at the U.N.), in coalition with the Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk.

Maintained an army of 10,000 on the Thai border. In 1991, agreed to be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement.

* South Viet Nam: Designated in the 1954 Geneva Accords as an area south of the 54th parallel. With North Vietnam, promised a nation-wide election in1956 which was cancelled. Saigon based governments joined with the United States in war against North Vietnam from 1954-1973.

With the United States invaded neutral Cambodia in 1970, fearing hidden Khmer Rouge support of "base camps" for Viet Cong and North Vietnamese communist guerrellas. Signed the 1973 Peace Accords. With North Vietnam formed a united Vietnam in 1975, with its capitol in Hanoi. (See Handout 4E for details of Vietnam War)

* Supreme National Council of Cambodia: Replace the Coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea in 1991 and comprised of Son Sann and his "Khmer People's National Liberation Front" , Prince Sihanouk, Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge, and the Phnom Penh government of Han Sen. Signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement.

* Thailand: Border country of Cambodia. Neutral player during the Vietnam War. However, United States used bases there to fly secret bombing missions into Cambodia in early 1970's. Many Cambodian refugees fled to the Thai border during the Khmer Rouge rule and later Vietnamese backed government rule.

Some times violent clashes between the Thai border patrols, the refugee camp residents, and the armies of the varied Cambodian factions in exile. Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

* United States of America: Involved in Southeast Asia from the early 1950's through 1975 with increasing military involment in an attempt to keep Vietnam from total Communist rule. In 1970 bombed and invaded neutral Cambodia, fearing hidden Khmer Rouge support of "base camps" for Viet Cong and North Vietnamese communist guerrellas that were threatening the south.

Signed the 1973 Peace Accords. During the 1980's supported the "Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) under the leadership of Son Sann. Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. And later , as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council adopted the agrreement. (See Handout 4E for details of Vietnam War)

* Viet Cong: Communist South Vietnamese guerrellas, suspected of using the "base camps" in Cambodia during the Vietnam War. (See Handout 4E for details of Vietnam War)

* Viet Nam: Since 1975, an independent, communist country with economic and military support from the former USSR. In 1979, invaded Kampuchea and established a Viet Nam-backed government under the leadership of Heng Samrin.

Continued to support Phnom Penh government economically and militarily through the 80's. Through the efforts of the U.N., agreed to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea in 1989. Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

Handout 4E

Parallel Histories: Vietnam and the United States

Vietnam		United States
	8000 BC	"Mississippi settlements" in today's Minnesota
Austro-Asian Migrations	2000 BC	
Viets in Red River Valley	400 BC	
Kingdom of NAM VIET	207 BC	
China controls NAM VIET	111 BC	
	900 AD	Mayan civilization
Nam Viet Independence	939 AD	
	1200 AD	Aztec Civilization
Viets conquer Champa	1471 AD	
	1492 AD	Europeans "discover" American continents
	1570 AD	Irroquois League formed
	1600 AD	Europeans colonize the Americas
French missionaries arrive	1620 AD	
	1700 AD	Independence movements in North America
	1776 AD	Independence declared; country named The United States
	1800 AD	Independence movements in South America
Nguyen dynasty names land, Vietnam	1804 AD	
	1850 AD	Continental expansion

(continued)

French military expedition arrives	1858 AD	
	1865	United States' Civil War
French Protectorate Treaty	1885	
Birth of Ho Chi Minh	1890	
	1898	U.S. War with Spain in Pacific and Carribean
Revolts against French	1908	
	1917	United States enters WWI
	1919	"Red Scare" in USA
Indo-Chinese Communist Party founded	1930	
	1938	"Peace in our time" Munich
Japan lands in Vietnam	1940	
Viet Minh League founded	1941	U.S. enters WWII...Pearl Harbor
Vietnam declared independence	1945	Atomic bombs dropped in Japan
French create government of South Vietnam	1946	
Beginning of Franco/Vietminh War		
	1949	Department of State "white paper" on China
	1950	U.S. and UN troops to Korea

(continued)

	1952	"Red Scare" in United States
		President Eisenhower elected
Battle of Dien Bien Phu	1954	U.S. attends Geneva conference
End of Franco/Vietminh War		
Geneva Agreements		
Beginning of American/Viet Cong (NLF) War	1955	Military aid and advisors sent to President Diem
Diem becomes President of South Vietnam	1956	
National Liberation Front founded by Ho Chi Minh	1960	President Kennedy elected
	1961	Bay of Pigs
	1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
President Diem assassinated	1963	President Kennedy assassinated
		President Johnson assumes office
Hostile fire in Tonkin Bay	1964	Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
North Vietnam bombed	1965	
	1966	Anti-war demonstration
		400,000 troops in Vietnam
TET offensive in cities	1968	Nixon elected President
President Thieu comes to power		540,000 American troops in Vietnam

(continued)

		Paris Peace talks begin
	1969	Secret bombing of Cambodia
	1970	U.S. invasion of Cambodia
Ho Chi Minh dies	1971	
Paris Peace Agreement signed	1973	Paris Peace Agreement signed
		American troops leave Vietnam
		War Powers Act passed by Congress
		Nixon resigns
End of American/Viet Cong War	1975	Last Americans leave Saigon
Saigon renamed Ho Chi Minh City		
	1976	President Carter elected
	1977	Vietnamese boat people arrive
Vietnam invades Cambodia and sets up a Vietnamese controlled government there.	1978	
	1982	Vietnam War Memorial dedicated in Washington, D.C.

See handout 4C for more recent chronology.

Lesson 5

The United Nations: Peacemaking in Cambodia

> "Constantly rebuffed but never discouraged , they went around from state to state helping people to settle their differences, arguing against wanton attack and pleading for the suppression of arms, that the age in which they lived might be saved from its state of continual war.To this end they interviewed princes and lectured the common people, nowhere meeting with any great success, but obstinately persisting in their task, til kings and commoners grew weary of them. Yet undeterred they continued to force themselves on people's attention."
>
> A description of his followersby Sung Tzu
> a Chinese philospopher of the 4th Century B C

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- create an updated timeline based on information from student reports.
- debate the positives and negatives of the U.N. as "neutral party" and of negotiation in Cambodian Conflict.
- discuss the demands and challenges of reconciliation.
- apply the negotiation-model to a school or neighborhood conflict.

Materials

- Handout 5A, **Reading from U.N.** "Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Settlement.
- Handout 5B,**Chronology of Negotiation: 1979-1992**
- Appendix, **Agenda for Peace**
- Handouts 4C and 4D can be used as resources
- Student charts, Lesson 3 (optional)
- Student Mural, Lesson 3 (optional)
- Student Timeline, Lesson 4 (optional)
- Journals

Time Six 15 minute periods
Pre-lesson reading assignment for selected students (see below)

Vocabulary (Lesson 4 Handouts 4C and 4D can be used as resources)

Pre-Lesson Assignment

Before starting this lesson, have a group of students (number based on number of small groups you will have for discussion) read Handouts 5A and 5B. Help clarify any questions they have on the readings.

Explain to them that the previous Lesson covered the military struggle in Cambodia. These readings and this Lesson cover the story of the long and difficult negotiations and diplomacy in Cambodia.

Have students prepare a report on the negotiations and proposed settlement of the conflict. Assure them that they need not know all the facts. The other students will have copies of the Handouts as they give the reports.

The goal is to present the challenges and difficulties in bringing people together who are in conflict and reaching a peaceful settlement.

Introduction

15 minutes
Have students debate the "pros and cons " of settling disputes with military means and settling disputes with diplomatic means.

Have them discuss the advantages and limitations in having a "third party", who is neutral and impartial, work with adversaries in resolving differences. (Lessons 1-3)

Explain that this lesson will look at the work (diplomacy rather than military)of the United Nations (a nuetral, impartial third party) in the proposed settlement of the Cambodia conflict.

Learning Sequence

30 minutes
1. Distribute Handouts 5A and 5B. Put students in small groups with one student-reporter in each. Have student give report on chronology of U.N. negotiations 1979-1991. Other students will follow report using Handouts as a guide.

After report, have students discuss raise questions and clarify points. The teacher may want to read significant parts of handout appropriate to small group needs and questions.

45 minutes
2. Have small groups discuss the following:

- To what extent did the four Cambodian groups participate as adversaries? as problem solvers? Which skill is better for negotiation?

- To what degree was there evidence of trust and respect among the four groups? To what degree was there evidence of trust and respect for the U.N. as a neutral party?

- To what degree was there evidence of multiple options rather than a right/wrong solution?

- Why do you think the presence of numbers of countries at the Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC, 1989-1991) strengthen the negotiations?

- Identify and list the skills used that encouraged negotiated rather than adversarial solutions. To what degree were they successful?

- Identify examples of U.N. definitions of ways to bring about peace(Appendix, Agenda For Peace or posted class charts- Lesson 3)

- Talk about a recent conflict in your school, community, neighborhood.

    1. To what extent could negotiation be useful in resolving the conflict? What would be some of its limitations?
    2. Who could you identify as a respected neutral "third party" for the conflict?
    3. If your school has a conflict resolution model, check to see about its strengths and weaknesses, and make suggestions to improve it from today's discussion. Or discuss creating a model for your school with the appropriate "key players".

Closure

Have students read the quote at the beginning of the lesson and write in their journals their thoughts and feelings on the on-going need for peace-making in their own lives, their community, the nation, the world.

Extension of Lesson

- Have students continue timeline. (lesson 4)
- Have students incorporate information into mural from Lesson 3 or create mural as described in Lesson 3.

Resources

Cambodia: Saving the Cold War Battlefields, newspaper series, Minnesota StarTribune, April 11-13, 1993.
Cambodia: Peace or Democracy, newspaper article, St Paul Pioneer Press, May 16, 1993.
Brother Number One: A Political Biography of Pol Pot, David Chandler, Westview Press, 1992.
Brother Enemy: The War after the War, Nayan Chanda, Collier Books, 1988.
When the War Was Over: Cambodia's Revolution and the Voices of Its People, Elizabeth Becker, Simon and Schuster, 1986.
The Quality of Mercy: Cambodia, Holocaust and Modern Conscience, William Shawcross, Simon and Schuster, 1984.

Handout 5A

Reading from the United Nations
"Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement
of the Cambodia Conflict"

Helpful hints for giving a report on this reading.

1. Use Handout 5B for your basic outline of the reading based on chronology and key developments. Also Handouts 4C, 4D, 7B are good resources.

2. Your main goal is to share the "spirit" of negotiation, the time committment, the difficulties of compromise and yet the satisfaction of completion. Highlight those points that support these elements of negotiation. Check discussion questions in lesson.

3. You may need to list some vocabulary for your classmates. Be sure to read the expectations in the Learning Sequence of the lesson.

4. Don't get "bogged down" in detail. These questions might help you:

* Name 2-3 major points of the original framework proposed by the Secretary-General.
* What were 2-3 points of the working document presented at the first JIM meeting? What was the MOST pressing issue for Cambodia, according to the Secretary-General?
* What were the 3 main points of the draft aggreement? What were the sticking points?
* What does the Agreement ACTUALLY provide for?

5. Let your classmates know that details of the agreement will be covered in Lesson 6.

6. Good luck. You are educating yourself and your classmates on the "art of negotiation".

AGREEMENTS ON A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE CAMBODIA CONFLICT

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PARIS, 23 OCTOBER 1991

UNITED NATIONS

BACKGROUND NOTE ON THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS

On 23 October 1991, the Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict were signed by Cambodia and 18 other nations in the presence of the United Nations Secretary-General. The agreements were the culmination of more than a decade of negotiations in which the Secretary-General had been closely involved from the outset.

The situation in Cambodia was first considered by the United Nations Security Council early in 1979. Later in the same year, the General Assembly considered the question at its regular session and adopted the first in a long series of resolutions on the subject. One of the provisions of that and succeeding resolutions requested the Secretary-General to follow the situation closely and to exercise his good offices in order to contribute to a peaceful solution to the problem. Another provision welcomed the efforts begun by the Secretary-General to coordinate relief assistance to the Cambodian people, assistance which, over the years, has now amounted to more than a billion dollars.

GOOD OFFICES

A few months following the International Conference on Kampuchea, convened in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981 by the General Assembly, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar renewed the offer of good offices. He requested his Special Representative for Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia, Rafeeuddin Ahmed, to establish contacts with the principal countries concerned in order to assess the positions of the parties and encourage, through dialogue, the gradual reconciliation of viewpoints. Accordingly, Mr. Ahmed undertook a mission in February and March 1982 to consult with Governments in the region and to encourage them to consider the convening of a limited international conference to bring together the parties, regional countries concerned and the five permanent members of the Security Council. At the same time, the Secretary-General continued his own contacts with Governments, both at United Nations Headquarters and at capitals around the world. He reported to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session in 1982 that only a comprehensive political solution, achieved through genuine negotiations, would ultimately bring peace. He reiterated his determination to continue to exercise his good offices and to assist all parties concerned in the search for a negotiated settlement.

On the Secretary-General's behalf, Mr. Ahmed visited the region many times over the years; in 1985, the Secretary-General himself did so. On the basis of his discussions, the Secretary-General was able to identify a number of objectives on which there seemed to be a degree of convergence. He listed these points in his report to the General Assembly at its fortieth session in 1985, thus recording for the first time the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. His efforts over the next three years centred on identifying the circumstances in which these objectives might be achieved.

In December 1987, Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen met for the first time in France, and a month later held a second round of talks. Following the initiation of this dialogue, the Secretary-General decided in June 1988 to ask his Special Representative to travel to South-East Asia to relay to the four Cambodian parties and concerned Governments of the region certain concrete ideas which might serve as a framework for a comprehensive settlement plan. The proposals put forward by the Secretary-General elaborated the objectives he had identified in 1985 and proposed integration of the various elements into a comprehensive scheme leading to the establishment of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodian state. In particular, the framework provided for an overall timeframe for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia, the disposition of the Cambodian armed elements, self-determination through free and fair general elections and the formation of a national reconciliation administration in Cambodia pending those elections, all with international supervision and verification; the repatriation and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons; and the implementation of measures, including a human rights education programme, to ensure the non-return to policies and practices of the past. In addition, the Secretary-General foresaw the provision of international guarantees for a settlement, and the launching of a programme for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia. The Secretary-General clarified that this integrated approach was intended only as a focus for dialogue between the parties concerned, and that he was prepared to explore any other avenue to hasten a peaceful, just and lasting solution.

Following the Secretary-General's proposals, the process of dialogue and negotiation gathered momentum. The first face-to-face talks between all four Cambodian parties took place on the occasion of the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), hosted by Indonesia, in July 1988. Representatives of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Association of South-East Asian Nations were also invited. A second JIM was held in February 1989. Among the items discussed was the general understanding that an international control mechanism should play a role in supervising and controlling the implementation of any agreements reached by the parties. All four Cambodian parties again participated in talks held in Paris in July 1989, on the eve of the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

PARIS CONFERENCE ON CAMBODIA

Eighteen countries and the Cambodian parties attended the Conference, held from 30 July to 30 August 1989 at the initiative of France. The French and the Indonesian Foreign Ministers acted as co-Presidents. Also participating in his official capacity was the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Addressing the opening session, the Secretary-General noted that, while the principal objectives of such a settlement were accepted by all, some significant substantive differences remained to be resolved. He subsequently put forward a number of working documents designed to facilitate bridging those differences. In particular, he addressed the military aspects in some detail, outlined the steps necessary for internationally-supervised elections, put forward a proposal for the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and outlined what the United Nations could do for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia at the appropriate time. In addition, he pointed out that further information on the situation inside Cambodia would be necessary for the deployment of an international control mechanism, and that a fact-finding mission would go to Cambodia to gather the necessary technical information. The Conference agreed, and a mission was dispatched by the Secretary-General to visit the area from 6 to 19 August 1989.

When the Conference was suspended on 30 August, the concluding statement noted that, while progress had been made in elaborating a wide variety of elements, a comprehensive settlement had not yet been achieved. The Secretary-General, in his report to the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly in October 1989, pointed out that the most important outstanding issue was national reconciliation. To begin to resolve this issue, viable administrative arrangements had to be made for the transition period leading to free, fair and internationally-supervised elections. Other details remained to be worked out as well. A firm basis for the negotiations required a genuine spirit of compromise. The Secretary-General assured all parties that he would continue to do whatever he could to further the negotiating process.

CONSULTATIONS OF THE FIVE

Among the countries attending the 1989 Paris Conference on Cambodia were the five permanent members of the Security Council: China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. Their presence marked a shared interest in achieving a negotiated settlement. In January 1990, they began a series of high-level meetings successively in New York and in Paris to discuss the situation in Cambodia. The meetings were an unprecedented and highly-visible effort on the part of the Five to develop the basis of a general settlement agreement. The Secretary-General welcomed this initiative and reiterated that the United Nations would assume any appropriate role agreed upon by the parties concerned and approved by the Security Council. He stressed, however, that the mandate which might ultimately be entrusted to the United Nations should be well-defined, realistic and practicable, and that the Organization should be assured of the necessary resources for its effective implementation.

In the course of their deliberations, the Five considered an Australian proposal to enhance the role of the United Nations in the settlement process, and took account of the discussions among the Cambodian parties, including those at an Informal Meeting on Cambodia in Jakarta in February 1990, and, in June, at a meeting held in Tokyo. Throughout the process, the Five maintained regular contacts with the Secretary-General. They welcomed his decision to establish a Secretariat task force to facilitate contingency planning for an eventual United Nations operation in Cambodia. To facilitate their request for technical information from the United Nations Secretariat, several fact-finding missions were dispatched under the auspices of the Secretary-General to study, among other things, communication and transportation infrastructure, water supply, sanitation and housing; structures of the administration; and modalities for the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and their reintegration into Cambodia.

At their sixth meeting on 27-28 August, the Five announced that they had reached agreement on a framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict. On the basis of this framework, the co-Presidents of the Paris Conference convened an informal meeting of the Cambodian parties in Jakarta. The meeting culminated, on 10 September, in a joint statement announcing that the four Cambodian parties accepted the framework, in its entirety, as the basis for settling the conflict, and were committed to elaborating this framework into a comprehensive political settlement through the processes of the Paris Conference. The joint statement further stipulated that the Cambodian parties agreed to form the Supreme National Council (SNC) as the unique legitimate body and source of authority in Cambodia throughout a transitional period. On 20 September 1990, the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 668 endorsing the framework formulated by the Five.

The Five then called upon the co-Presidents of the Paris Conference to make the necessary arrangements for the elaboration of a comprehensive political settlement agreement based on the framework. A working group met on 9 and 10 November and achieved a general understanding on the structure and

At its second formal meeting in Pattaya, from 26 to 29 August, the SNC considered the draft settlement agreements of 26 November 1990, and, with the participation of the representatives of the co-Presidents and of the Secretary-General, achieved significant progress in finding compromise solutions to most of the outstanding difficulties. This included, in particular, the question of the military arrangements during the transitional period. The SNC, through Prince Sihanouk, requested the Secretary-General to send a number of military observers to Cambodia, and to begin rehabilitation assistance for Cambodia as soon as possible.

On 29 and 30 August, the Vice-Ministers of the permanent members of the Security Council and Indonesia also met in Pattaya. The progress made by the SNC, especially with respect to military matters, was considered. On 30 August, the first joint meeting of the co-Presidents, the five permanent members and the SNC was held. On 19 September, Prince Sihanouk and other members of the SNC met informally with the representatives of the co-Presidents of the Paris Conference on Cambodia and with Mr. Ahmed in New York. Prince Sihanouk indicated that the SNC had reached agreement on the issue of the electoral system to be used for the elections to be organized and conducted by the United Nations in Cambodia as part of the settlement agreement.

SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENTS

The Vice-Ministers of the five permanent members and the representative of the Indonesian co-President met in New York on 20 and 21 September to take stock of the situation. On 20 September, they held their second joint meeting with members of the SNC, at which Prince Sihanouk announced that the SNC had reached agreement on the question of the decision-making process during the transitional period. On 21 September, the co-Presidents of the Paris Conference on Cambodia convened in New York an informal meeting of the Coordination Committee of the Conference. Following this meeting, Mr. Ahmed assisted the representatives of the co-Presidents in reviewing and revising the 26 November 1990 draft text in order to reflect the agreements reached during the preceding 10 months. The revised text was presented to the SNC on 27 September at another informal meeting held with the co-Presidents' representatives and Mr. Ahmed. Subsequently, the co-Presidents made the revised text available to the other States participating in the Conference.

Following the visit to Cambodia at the request of the SNC of a military survey mission, the Secretary-General, on 30 September, recommended in a report to the Security Council the establishment of the United Nations Advance

Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) to assist the Cambodian parties maintain their ceasefire, to exercise good offices and liaison functions during the period preceding the establishment of UNTAC, and to establish a mine awareness programme. The Council approved the report on 16 October by its resolution 717 (1991) and decided to establish UNAMIC immediately after the signing of the comprehensive settlement agreements.

The second session of the Paris Conference on Cambodia was held from 21 to 23 October 1991. The Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict were signed at the final meeting, on 23 October. This act marked the beginning of the transitional period in Cambodia, running up to the formation of a new Cambodian Government following free and fair elections. The Security Council expressed its full support for these Agreements on 31 October, in its resolution 718 (1991), and requested the preparation of a detailed plan of implementation.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Handout 5B

Chronology of Negotiation: 1979-1993

More information on terms with an * can be found on Handouts 4C, 4D, 6A, 6B, and 7B. The words in **bold** highlight key developments in the negotiations.

1979:
The U.N. Security Council and General Assembly pass **resolutions** asking the U.N. Secretary General to use his "offices" in seeking a peaceful settlement for Cambodia

1981-1985:
The Secretary-General's special representative **visits the region** many times. Contacts the various adversarial parties, regional countries and permanent members of the Secuirty Council. Advises the calling of an **international conference**.

1985:
The Secretary-General visits the region. Advises the U.N. that only a **comprehensive political** solution, with genuine **negotiations**, will bring peace. Identifies the main objectives of a comprehensive political solution. Continues to work on identifying circumstances in which these objectives will be reached.

1987-1988:
Prince Sihanouk* and Mr Hun Sen **meet***.

1988:
(June) Secretary-General's Represenative travels to region and offers **proposals for settlement** with four Cambodian groups (see SNC on Handout 4D), and governments of the region.

(July) Jakarta Informal Meeting **(JIM)** with four Cambodian parties, Indonesia, Viet Nam*, Laos, Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN)

1989:
(February) Second JIM meeting.

(July) 1st Paris Conference on Cambodia **(PCC)**, hosted by co-Presidents of France* and Indonesia; attended by 18 nations , among them the **five permanent members of the Security Council (The Five)**, four Cambodian groups and the Secretary-General.

(August) U.N. factfinding mission to region.

(October) Secretary-General reports to the General Assembly.

1990:
(January) Beginning of a **number of high-level meetings** with the five permanent members of the Security Council (The Five). Considered Austrialian proposal, issues addressed by the Cambodian parties in Jakarta (February, 1990) and Tokyo (June, 1990)

(August) Five permanent Security Council members announce a **framework** for the peace agreement.

(September) Four Cambodian parties accept the framework (Jakarta Agreement) and form the **Supreme National Council* (SNC)**. U.N. Security Council adopts framework.

(November) The PCC co-Presidents and the Five agree to a **draft of agreement** based on the approved framwork. One month later, SNC agrees to draft.

1991:
(April) Agreement for temporary **cease fire** in region. On-going discussions and modifications of draft agreement.

(June) Prince Sihanouk joins discussions. Unconditional cease fire agreed to. Sihanouk elected **President of the SNC.**

(Summer) On-going talks with the represenatives of the PCC, SNC, the Five, Secretary-General in working out **compromises** for the difficult parts of the draft agreement.

(Fall) SNC and others reach agreement on military arrangements, elections, decision making process during the transition in Cambodia. **Revised text** approved by all parties.

(October 16) Security Council establishes **UNAMIC**.

(October 23) Agreements on the a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict is **signed** by the 18 nations of PCC and the four Cambodian Parties., at the second conference of the PCC. Security Council and General Assembly give full support.

1992:
(March) Secretary-General announces implementation of the Agreements and establishes the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia(**UNTAC**).

Lesson 6

The United Nations: Peacebuilding in Cambodia

> **All nations can hasten the day**
> **when the killing fields of Cambodia can become the fertile fields**
> **of a peaceful and prosperous people. The monuments at Angkor Wat**
> **are a tribute to a Khmer spirit of long ago. Now is the time to raise a new monument**
> **to that spirit. We must lay the foundations for a new and lasting**
> **tranquility in Cambodia and throughout Southeast Asia.**
>
> **United States Secretary of State, James Baker,**
> **at International Conference on Cambodia, 1989**

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- read accounts of the international community's rsponse to the Cambodian Peace Agreements.
- report on and discuss the UNTAC implemention of the Agreements.
- focus on the U.N. peacebuilding model as "new and creative response" to conflict.
- explore the meaning of "responsible dialogue" on a personal, local, national or international level.

Materials

- Handout 5B, **Chronology of Negotiation: 1979-1992**
- Handout 6A, **A Reading about the United Nations** "Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict"
- Handout 6B, **United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)**
- Complete copy of the Secretary-General's Report on Implementation of "Agreement" (optional-See Resource List below)
- Journals

Vocabulary (More information on Handouts 5B, 6A, 6B)

Paris Conference on Cambodia(PCC)
Supreme National Council of Cambodia(SNC)
United Nations Security Council
Secretary-General of the United Nations

Time Eight 15 minute periods

Introduction

15 minutes
Have students review information on Handout 5B with special attention to events in 1989-1992. Encourage them to keep this handout available for easy-reference while doing this lesson.

Check students understanding of the Paris Conference on Cambodia(PCC), Supreme National Council of Cambodia(SNC), the United Nations Security Council, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Learning Sequence

30 minutes
1. Distribute Handout 6A, a report on the United Nations document, "Agreements on A Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict" (1991). Have students read the material. Help them identify the vocabulary terms listed above.

Read and discuss the quote at the beginning of this lesson and relate it to the reading.

45 minutes
2. Distribute Handout 6B. Explain to the students that this is the Secretary-General's plan to establish UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia). It will put into action the principles agreed to in the Handout 6A (Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict)

3. Have students read the background information part of the Handout. Help students identify and clarify major points.

4. Create small groups of at least seven students each. Each student will read one of the seven descriptions of the UNTAC components. Each student share information on component with the rest of small group.

5. In journals, have students briefly describe the nature of UNTAC and one significant point of each component of the peacebuilding plan for Cambodia. Encourage students to help each other in this.

30 minutes
6. Have students discuss the following:

> * In the "Agreements", SNC is designated as the governing body of Cambodia during the transition period but it has also delegated all powers necessary to the United Nations to insure the implementation of the agreements. Discuss the implications this has for Cambodia and the U.N. during the transition period.

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of this arrangement? To what extent is this different from peacemaking and peacekeeping?

- What are the challenges for the U.N.in this agreement? What are the challenges for SNC?

- It has been said that the world of the 21st century will witness more and more"internal" conflicts, cross- regional conflict, ethnic conflict, conflict that is less and less between nations.

- This is a new world where the super powers no longer take opposing sides; a world that demands new and creative responses.To what extent does the Cambodian Agreement offer a new response?

- What are the"pros and cons" of the expanding role of the United Nations in this new peacebuilding model?

Closure

Former U.N.Secretary-General Javier Perez Cuellar has said that tensions can only be reduced when nations and parties in conflict, begin to "hear" each other's pain in addition to understanding each others goals. Reconciliation is "based on reciprocal concessions and constructive, responsible dialogue."

In their journals, have students reflect on these thoughts in applying them to their own experiences with tension and reconciliation.

Resources

- Complete "Report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia", 19 February 1992, S/23613, Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information, DPI/1217-May-92507-4M.

- United Nations Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, , (DPI/1180-92077-January 1992), Department of Public Information, Dessemination Division, United Nations, New York, New York, 10017.

- UN Chronicle, published quarterly by the United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations Publications, Room DC2-0853, New York, N.Y., 10017.

Handout 6A

U.N.Chronicle Report on the "Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlemer of the Cambodia Conflict"

UN CHRONICLE, March 1992

UN: 'Major, unprecedented' role

Peace treaty to end Cambodian conflict signed in Paris; *Cease-fire agreement in effect*

A peace treaty to end the 13-year conflict in Cambodia and prepare that South-East Asian nation for elections was signed in Paris on 23 October. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar in a note *(S/23179)* to the Security Council on 30 October described four major documents adopted by the Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC). These included: the Conference's Final Act; an agreement on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, with annexes on the mandate for the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), military matters, elections, repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, and the principles of a new Cambodian constitution; an agreement concerning the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia; and a declaration on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of that country.

CONFERENCE DE PARIS
SUR LE CAMBODGE

Meeting in Paris on 23 October 1991.

In the Final Act, States that participated in the Conference—Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, USSR, United Kingdom, United States and Viet Nam—committed themselves to promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia.

They asked the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to facilitate the release of prisoners of war and civilian internees and expressed their readiness to assist the ICRC in that task. The international community was urged to provide generous economic and financial support to assist Cambodia in rehabilitation and reconstruction tasks.

In unanimously adopting resolution 718 (1991) on 31 October, the Council called on all Cambodian parties to comply fully with the new cease-fire arrangements and asked the Secretary-General to submit his implementation plan, including a detailed cost estimate of UNTAC. It also called on the Supreme National Council (SNC) of Cambodia and all Cambodians to cooperate fully with the UN in implementing the Paris agreements.

The Council also welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to send a survey mission to Cambodia as soon as possible.

The UN Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) had been established by the Council on 16 October in its adoption of resolution 717 (1991). The Mission became operational shortly after the signing of the Paris agreements and would exist until it is absorbed into UNTAC. UNAMIC is to assist in maintaining the cease-fire, facilitate communications between the military headquarters of the four Cambodian parties, train civilian populations on how to avoid injury from mines or booby traps and ensure liaison between the Secretary-General and the SNC.

UN Photo 178322/J. Isaac

SNC President Sihanouk *(left)* with other Cambodian leaders.

'Turning a new page'

The Secretary-General signed the Final Act of the PCC, which had been called again into session by its Co-Chairmen—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

In addressing the Conference, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar recalled that French President François Mitterrand had proposed convening the Conference in July 1989. In cooperation with Indonesia, France had invited the UN to join in a project, "which seemed somewhat ambitious at the time", he said, of achieving a negotiated solution to the question of Cambodia and, thus, "putting an end to the suffering imposed on the Cambodian people during two decades of war and destruction".

The settlement, he went on, should make it possible to "turn a new page" in Cambodia's history and encourage the advent of an era of peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia. Cambodians had accelerated the negotiation process by recognizing that the military option had led them to an impasse and had worked towards national reconciliation "based on reciprocal concessions and constructive, responsible dialogue".

The UN, the Secretary-General said, had been assigned a "major and unprecedented" role. He expected UNTAC to be "the biggest and most complex" operation in UN history.

UNTAC would supervise the cease-fire and the cessation of outside military assistance and verify the withdrawal of foreign forces, be responsible for the regroupment and cantonment of all armed forces of the Cambodian parties and ensure a 70 per cent level of disarmament and demobilization. It would also help to detect and clear minefields, which represented a daily danger for the civilian population and a barrier to resumption of all normal economic activity.

Neutral political environment

The UN would also be responsible for controlling or supervising, in varying degrees, the activities of the existing administrative structures, including the police, and for ensuring promotion of and respect for human rights, so that the Cambodian people would not "again be exposed to the grave abuses of the past", the Secretary-General told the Conference. The primary goal was to encourage a neutral political environment in which Cambodians could freely determine their future within the framework of democratic elections organized and conducted by the UN.

Repatriated refugees and displaced persons should vote in the elections. The repatriation process was a parallel measure to launch a UN programme to rehabilitate and reconstruct Cambodia.

The effectiveness and ultimately the success of UN intervention were closely dependent on the full and complete cooperation of all the parties concerned, he said.

Once peace had been achieved, it must be made a lasting peace, he stressed. The SNC would play a key role in that respect. During the transitional period, the SNC, in which Cambodia's sovereignty would be embodied, would be the symbol of national reconciliation, based on the higher interest of Cambodia and its people.

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However, peace could remain ephemeral if the Cambodian people and some of its immediate neighbours continued to live in destitution and poverty, the Secretary-General observed. "Achieving peace is an ongoing battle", he concluded.

'Historic occasion'

In adopting resolution 46/18 without a vote on 20 November, the General Assembly fully supported the Paris Agreements which would maintain, preserve and guarantee Cambodia's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity. All parties concerned were urged to implement fully the Accords, in close cooperation with UNTAC.

The Assembly also called upon the relevant parties to ensure respect for and full observance of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Cambodian people and assist them in exercising their right to self-determination.

Assembly President Samir S. Shihabi of Saudi Arabia said the consensus text marked "an historic occasion for the people of Cambodia".

On 7 November, the Secretary-General reported *(A/46/617)* that the transitional period in Cambodia would continue until the new Cambodian government was formed, in accordance with the settlement agreement.

While it was gratifying that the UN had been given wide-ranging responsibilities for implementing the Accords, substantial human and financial resources would be needed and innovative procedures would have to be devised to complete such tasks.

Also, intensified military activity in western Cambodia during the first part of 1991 had resulted in renewed movements of large numbers of people across the Thai/Cambodian border to UN Border Relief Operation camps in Thailand. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees would carry out repatriation measures. Until then, those refugees should not be moved back to Cambodia prematurely.

UNAMIC begins operations

On 9 November, UNAMIC, with headquarters in Phnom Penh, officially began operations. An advance team of some 268 persons was to be deployed by year's end.

Among States contributing military personnel to the Mission were: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, Senegal, Tunisia, USSR, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay.

A. H. S. Ataul Karim of Bangladesh was named UNAMIC Head and Chief Liaison Officer. He had served as his country's Ambassador to the United States and to the UN. Brigadier-General Michel Loridon of France was its Senior Military Liaison Officer.

The General Assembly on 20 December approved $14,319,200 for the UNAMIC operation from 1 November 1991 to 30 April 1992.

On 30 December, the Secretary-General recommended *(S/23331)* to the Security Council that UNAMIC also provide training in mine clearance. Concurrently, a de-mining programme would be initiated urgently in northwest Cambodia to take maximum advantage of the dry season. Roads and bridges would also be repaired.

In a 28 December statement *(A/47/63-S/23335)* issued in New York, the Council's five permanent members appealed to all Cambodian parties to contribute to the development of the process of national reconciliation and the maintenance of peace by strictly respecting all agreements, including those related to assuring all necessary conditions for the normal functioning of the SNC in Phnom Penh.

1992 Janet Gardner

Cambodians: Looking towards peace.

FACT SHEET

UNTAC
CAMBODIA

Handout 6B

UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY IN CAMBODIA (UNTAC)

HEADQUARTERS: Phnom Penh, Cambodia

DATE OPERATIONAL: 15 March 1992

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HEAD OF MISSION: Mr. Yasushi Akashi (Japan)

BACKGROUND

The Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, which entered into force on 23 October 1991, invited the Security Council to establish the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and to provide it with the mandate set forth in the Agreement. The Council fully supported the Agreement in its resolution 718 (1991) of 31 October 1991, and requested the Secretary-General to prepare a detailed plan of implementation.

Under the Agreement, the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (SNC) is "the unique legitimate body and source of authority in which, throughout the transitional period, the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia are enshrined". The SNC, which is made up of the four Cambodian factions and is under the chairmanship of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has delegated to the United Nations "all powers necessary" to ensure the implementation of the Agreement. The transitional period commences with the entry into force of the Agreement and terminates when the constituent assembly elected in conformity with the Agreement has approved the new Cambodian Constitution and transformed itself into a legislative assembly, and thereafter a new Cambodian Government has been created.

Prior to the establishment and deployment of UNTAC, the Secretary-General had, on 30 September 1991, recommended that the United Nations deploy a small advance mission in Cambodia to assist the Cambodian parties to maintain the cease-fire. Based on this recommendation, the Security Council, by its resolution 717 (1991) of 16 October 1991, decided to establish the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) immediately after the signing of the Agreement. UNAMIC became operational on 9 November 1991. It consisted of civilian and military liaison staff, a military mine-awareness unit, and logistics and support personnel. On 8 January 1992, by its resolution 728 (1992), the Council expanded the mandate of UNAMIC to include training in mine clearance for Cambodians and the initiation of a mine-clearing programme.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNTAC

On 19 February 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report containing his proposed implementation plan. The Council approved that report and, by its resolution 745 (1992) of 28 February, established UNTAC under its authority for a period not to exceed 18 months. Upon becoming operational on 15 March 1992, UNTAC absorbed UNAMIC.

UNTAC's strength varies according to the phase of operations, with between 15,000 and 20,000 military and civilian personnel present at the peak time. In addition, UNTAC international staff will be supplemented by tens of thousands of locally recruited staff, most of them during elections. UNTAC is headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Yasushi Akashi (Japan). Headquarters personnel include executive management, a coordination and liaison team, human rights, political, legal and economic advisers, an information service and support staff.

UNTAC consists of seven distinct components.

Human rights component. The Agreement gives UNTAC the responsibility during the transitional period for fostering an environment in which respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is ensured. UNTAC's activities in this regard comprise three aspects: a human rights education programme; general human rights oversight in all existing administrative structures in Cambodia; and a mechanism for the investigation of allegations of human rights abuses occurring during the transitional period.

Civil administration component. In order to ensure a neutral political environment conducive to free and fair general elections, UNTAC will exercise direct control over existing administrative structures acting in the field of foreign affairs, national defence, finance, public security and information. UNTAC will, as determined in consultation with SNC, exercise a lesser degree of scrutiny over other administrative structures that could influence the outcome of the elections. The component will also comprise an office for training and an office for complaints and investigation.

The human rights and civil administration components will consist of specialists, assisted by international support staff. They will operate at the central level, from offices to be established at the 21 provincial and municipal centres and, particularly as regards dissemination of information and civic education, from offices at all of the estimated 200 districts in the country.

Electoral component. The Agreement entrusts UNTAC with the organization and conduct of free and fair general elections in Cambodia. UNTAC is to establish, in consultation with SNC, a legal framework including an electoral law and regulations to govern the electoral process and an electoral code of conduct. Other aspects include civic education and training, registration of voters and political parties, and the polling process itself. The Special Representative will be assisted in these responsibilities by a chief electoral officer. An Electoral Advisory Committee will be appointed by the Special Representative to ensure the prevention and control of election irregularities. International staff include: electoral personnel at headquarters; personnel at the 21 provincial offices, responsible for electoral operations, information, training, communications, compliance and complaints, and coordination; and district electoral supervisors at approximately 200 district offices. Their number will be augmented by approximately 1,000 international personnel seconded from Governments during the polling process.

Military component. The military component, headed by a Force Commander, is charged with the following main functions: verification of the withdrawal from Cambodia and non-return of all categories of foreign forces and their arms and equipment; supervision of the cease-fire and related measures, including regroupment, cantonment, disarming and demobilization of forces of the Cambodian parties; weapons control, including monitoring the cessation of outside military assistance, locating and confiscating caches of weapons and military supplies throughout Cambodia, storing of the arms and equipment of the cantoned and the demobilized military forces; assisting with mine-clearance, including training programmes and mine awareness programmes. In addition, the military component is charged with undertaking investigations, on complaint from one of the parties or on its own, of alleged non-compliance with any of the provisions relating to military arrangements, and to provide assistance in relation to the release of prisoners of war and in the repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons.

At maximum strength during the peak of its activity, the military component of UNTAC will comprise abou 15,900 all ranks, including force headquarters and sector headquarters staff; military observer group; infantry; engineer element; air support group; signals unit; medical unit; military police; logistic battalion; and naval element.

Police component. UNTAC civilian police monitors will supervise or control the local civil police in order to ensure that law and order are maintained effectively and impartially, and that human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully protected. The structure of the UNTAC civilian police component will include a policy and management unit at headquarters, 21 units at the provincial level and 200 district-level units. There will be a total of about 3,600 UNTAC civilian police monitors.

Repatriation component. The repatriation and resettlement of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons is to be an inter-agency effort with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees designated as the lead agency. The effort will include the movement of returnees, the provision of immediate assistance and food, and a reintegration programme. The component will be headed by a Director for repatriation, appointed by the Secretary-General and reporting to the Special Representative as well as to the High Commissioner.

Rehabilitation component. The rehabilitation effort will be headed by a Coordinator appointed by the Secretary-General and reporting to the Special Representative. He will ensure efficient and effective coordination, make ongoing assessments of needs, and ensure that they are being met without duplication or overlap. Particular attention will be given to food security, health, housing, training, education, the transport network and the restoration of Cambodia's basic infrastructure and public utilities. In addition, the Coordinator will have responsibilities related to raising resources through donor contributions.

COMPOSITION

In early April 1992, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that he proposed to have military personnel of UNTAC provided by Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, France, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Russian Federation, Senegal, Thailand, Tunisia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Uruguay. He added that he was awaiting a reply to his request for military personnel from certain other States.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The preliminary indicative costs to the United Nations of UNTAC are estimated at approximately $1,900 million for a period of 15 months. In addition, repatriation and resettlement will be funded from voluntary contributions as will almost all the activities undertaken in the rehabilitation phase.

Lesson 7

Challenges to Peacebuilding in Cambodia

"Achieving peace is an on-going battle"

Former U.N.Secretary-General
Javier Perez de Cuellar, 1981-1991

Objectives

Students will be able to:

- experience different perspectives by roleplaying different "key players" in addressing challenges to the Cambodian Peace Agreements.
- exercise and critique negotiation skills and conflict resolution skills by participating in a roundtable discussion.
- understand the importance of the international community's committment in maintaining peace.
- design a message of "waging peace" for personal, local, national, international communities.

Materials

- Handout 7A, **Challenges to Peace in Cambodia**
- Handout 7B, **Profiles of the Members of the Roundtable**
- Handout 6A, **A Reading on the United Nations** "Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict"
- Handout 6B, **UNTAC**
- Handout 4D
- News articles on Cambodia Peace Accords from the Fall of 1992 to the present

Vocabulary

Paris Conference on Cambodia(PCC)
Supreme National Council of Cambodia(SNC)
United Nations Security Council
Secretary General of the United Nations
Cambodia Agreements
Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Time Six 15 minute periods

Background Information

In May, 1993, the Cambodian people, in an internationally supervised election, elected delegates to the new National Assembly, which had the responsibility of writing a constitution to establish a government for Cambodia. Of the four groups represented in the National Council for Cambodia (see

Handout 7B), the party supporting Prince Sihanouk, the royalist opposition party, won 58 of 120 seats in the national assembly. The party supporting the Vietnamese installed government received 51 seats.

The Khmer Rouge, although signing the 1991 Peace Agreement, boycotted the election because they feared the government would use intimidation to win.

It may be very helpful for students to review information on Handouts 4D, 6A and 6B before doing this lesson.

Introduction

15 minutes

Explain to students that they are to be part of a roundtable conference on Cambodia. This conference is to take place in the Summer of 1993, immediatly following the elections.

Their task, while roleplaying members of the international community that negotiated the U.N. Cambodian Peace Agreement, is to address one or two challenges (Handout 7A) to Cambodia's efforts to establish a government which can build and maintain peace.

Tell the students that fourteen participants, countries as well as the National Council of Cambodia, will be represented at the conference and that one student will represent one of these. Other students will act as aides and advisors to a particular representative.

Have students read and choose one of the challenges to peace listed on Handout 7A, reported in the press before and after the May, 1993 election. Students can be encouraged to develop other challenges based on developments not covered in Handout 7A.

Learning Sequence

30 minutes

1. Distribute Handout 7B. Divide students into fourteen groups and have each group choose ("pick out of the hat") one of the profiles listed on Handout 7B. This is each group's designated profile that they will role-play during a roundtable conference on the chosen challenge.

2. Have each group:

- work together on addressing one of the challenges on Handout 7A from the perspective of their profile

- select a spokesperson to role play their profile in a roundtable discussion on the challenge
- use Handouts 4D, 6A and 6B as resources for preparing their responses

30 minutes
3. Put the Co-Chairs and roundtable participants (roleplaying their profiles)in an inner circle, the rest of the class as observers in an outer circle.

The roundtable is to discuss the challenge and suggest possible responses. These responses could be based on specific parts of the 1991 **"Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict"**.

The responses also could take the form of suggestions for future U.N. Peace Plans, recognizing limitations of the 1991 Agreement. If appropriate, voting on suggestions might be possible. Or a sub-group could agree to work on a negotiated resolution to bring back to the roundtable.

If there seems to be no agreement, have group discuss the difficulities of coming to a compromise. The group may want to establish time limitations.

4. Students in outer circle should record evidence of negotiating skills, evidence of adversarial exchanges, and possible resolution suggestions. After discussion, outer circle share observations with roundtable.

5. Together discuss accuracy of the role playing, the challenges of negotiating, and identify possible solutions. (You can continue the process with different students role-playing, covering other or all challenges.)

15 minutes
6. Discussion:

- What do these challenges to peace suggest about the frailty of the peace plan?

- If you had a chance, what suggestions would you give members of the newly elected national assembly ?

- This Cambodian peace process reveals that it is difficult and expensive to "wage" peace. Is it worth it? To what extent is it dependent on the individual's commitment to peacekeeping and peacebuilding? To what extent is it dependent on the commitment of national groups,and the international community?

- Are individuals you know committed to "waging" peace? Is your neighborhood and community committed? Is our nation? Our world? Is it worth it for you?

- Have the students compare their results with what actually has happened in

Cambodia since the election. Ask the students to evaluate the progress made in Cambodia and to try and determine how Cambodia might be different if student roundtable ideas had been in place after the election.

Closure

Explore with students what happens when diverse groups are working together to solve a problem and one of those groups continually rejects ideas out of apparent self-interest. What happens to the process? What happens to communication between the groups?

Explore with students similar situations in their own community. How do diverse groups in your community resolve conflicts? Are groups able to get beyond their own self-interest?

Create some audio/visual expression that reflects the time, energy and money needed to "give peace a chance". Target it for your school or community. Contact appropriate people to display your efforts.

Extension of Lesson

* Have students participate in a Model Security Council meeting on some of the challenges. For information on "how to" do this contact: UNA-USA. (See reource list below)

* Have students participate in a Model U.N. For information on "how to" do this contact: UNA-USA. (SeeUNA-USA resource list below)

* Have students read Agenda for Peace (in Appendix) and report to class on the United Nations collaborative work with international organizations and regional political groups in addressing the root causes challenging the peace initiative.

* Invite speakers from your local UNA to come and discuss the U.N. peacebuilding plan.

Resources

* UNA-USA, Model U.N. and Youth Programs, Jim Muldoon, 485 5th Ave, New York, New York, 10017-6104, 212-697-3232.

* When the War Was`Over, A History of the Khmer Rouge and Modern Cambodia, Elizabeth Becker.
"Report from Cambodia" , Stan Sesser, The New Yorker, May 18, 1992.

* Understanding the United Nations, a teaching module for grades 7-12. UNA-MN, 1929 S. 5th St, Minneapolis, MN., 612-333-2824.

Handout 7A

Challenges to Peace In Cambodia

Background notes: Throughout the pre-election period, all Cambodian parties of the SNC challenged the U.N. Peace Plan in a variety of ways. These challenges revealed powerful self interests. This challenge uses one of the parties, the Khmer Rouge as an example of this self interest.

Information on Challenge #1: The Khmer Rouge frequently appeared to be a roadblock to peace. They were second only to the Hun Sen government in terms of military strength. They had the best trained and most experienced army as well as being well equiped. By November, 1992, the other three parties of SNC had demobilized nearly all of their troops. Reports had been made that the Khmer Rouge continued to set aside weapons and ammunition in the Cardomom Mountains in western Cambodia for later use. Its forces had been accused of shelling a U.N. position in Siem Reap province.

Previous to the May,1993 election, the Khmer Rouge continued to build roads and acquire territory in the gem-rich northern province of Preah Vihear, and pushed into the gold-mining region of Kompong Thom and the forests of Kompong Cham. Khmer Rouge traded in gems and timber with Thailand continues to flourish.

Although U.N. personnell were successful in returning most refugees to their Cambodian homes, in October of 1991, the Khmer Rouge military leaders at refugee camp #8 along the Thai border announced that they would repatriate Cambodian refugees from the camp into Khmer Rouge occupied provinces. In response to some of the above actions, the U.N. Security Council banned export of petroleum and petroleum products to areas held by the Khmer Rouge in an attempt to force them to cooperate in the peace process.

Khmer Rouge forces also seized U.N. peacekeepers and later released them on four different occasions in one month. During the elections the Khmer Rouge threatened a violent disruption of the election process. This never happened, but the Khmer Rouge remain outside the process and threaten to disrupt the workings of the new government. Their control of mineral rich resource areas also threatens the ability of the new government to help Cambodia achieve economic stability.

Challenge #1- How would you, as a member of the International roundtable, address the on-going challenge of the Khmer Rouge? To what extent should the Internationbal community be Involved in assisting Cambodia with this challenge?

****Note to each representative**-Formulate a clear response to each challenge with goals and specific outcomes. This should form the basis of any compromise that you may want to make through the negotiations.

Handout 7A

Challenges to Peace In Cambodia

Information on Challenge #2: Establishing political unity following the election remained a major challenge for Cambodia. After the election, Cambodia's shaky unity was challenged by groups who failed to win majority support during the election.

Prince Norodom Chakrapong, son of Prince Sihanouk and a deputy Prime Minister of the Vietnamese installed Government which lost the election, announced that his party would not accept the results of the election. He announced that he and other "renegade" elements of the current government would seize seven eastern provinces and create an autonomous state there.

His half brother, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, the leader of the party which won the election said that he would order his troops to take up arms to stop his half brother and keep Cambodia unified. Eventually these forces removed the threat. Howvever,these actions, and others like them, presented a major obstacle to a unified Cambodia and to the development of a new constitution which would be fair to all parties in Cambodia.

Challenge #2 **As a member of the international roundtable, what suggestions and assurances can you offer to preserve a unified Cambodia. Only with this assurance can the National Assembly construct a new constitution which reflect the needs of the country and its constituents and what should appear in that constitution which would help to guarantee a unified Cambodia.**

To what extent should the international community be involved in assisting Cambodia with this challenge?

****Note to each representative**-Formulate a clear response to each challenge with goals and specific outcomes. This should form the basis of any compromise that you may want to make through the negotiations.

Handout 7B

Profiles of Members of the Roundatable

Roundtable Profiles:

1. Indonesia **(Roundtable Co-Chair)**: co-president with France of the Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC). That conference consisted of 18 nations and was instrumental in developing draft of the1991 U.N. Peace Agreements for Cambodia.

2. France **(Roundtable Co-Chair)**: See description for Indonesia.

3. Supreme National Concil of Cambodia (SNC) **(each of the following will send one representative to the conference)**: (Also see Handout 4D)

Sihanouk, Prince Norodom: King of Cambodia, 1941-1955. Abdicated in 1955 and ruled as Prince and Head of State until deposed by Lon Nol in 1970. head of government in exile from 1970-1975. Returned to Phnom Penh as nominal Head of State under the Khmer Rouge in 1975.

Forced into retirement in 1976. From 1982-1991, President of the exiled "Democratic Kampuchea" (the exiled government seated at the U.N.), in coalition with the Khmer Rouge and Son Sann. Maintained up to 3,000 troops along Thai border. In 1991, agreed to be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement. Chosen by the SNC to be President of the SNC during transition period of U.N. peacebuilding efforts. Continues to be extremely popular with the Cambodian people.

Pol Pot: A Cambodian Marxist who fled Phnom Penh in 1963. Leader of the Khmer Rouge. Secretary General of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, 1963-1978. Prime Minister of "Democratic Kampuchea", 1976-78. Responsible for the Cambodian "holocaust", the re-education camps and forced labor camps from 1975-1979. Commander-in-chief of a 30,000 Khmer Rouge army.

Led the Cambodian faction supported by China. Member of the 1982 Coalition in exile that represented Kampuchea in U.N. In 1991, agreed to have the Khmer Rouge be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement. Remains a questionable part of the peacebuilding efforts.

Hun Sen : President of the Vietnamese -backed regime in Phnom Penh, the People's Republic of Kampuchea from 1985 -1992. Renounced Communism in 1989 when Vietnam troops left Cambodia. In 1991, agreed to be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement.

Son Sann: Former Prime Minister of Cambodia, under Sihanouk. President of the "Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF). Led the Cambodian faction supported by the United States. In 1982 became Prime Minister of "Democratic Kampuchea" (the exiled government seated at the U.N.), in coalition with the Khmer Rouge and Sihanouk. Maintained an army of 10,000 on the Thai border. In 1991, agreed to be a partner in the SNC and signed the U.N. Peace Agreement.

4. United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC): (See Handout 6B) The U.N. 18 month transitional authority (commencing March, 1992), responsible for insuring the implementation of the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement in Cambodia. UNTAC has authority in the areas of human rights, civil administration elections, military demobilization, civilian police, repatriation and rehabilitation.When a constituent assembly is elected, this assembly will approve a new Cambodian Constitution and transform itself into a legislative assembly, creating a new Cambodian government. **(One Roundtable Representative)**

5. Five Permanent members of the Security Council (Also see Handout 5B) Responsible for the initial a framework and worked with PCC and SNC members on the drafting of the final document. Collective support , cooperation, and effort of The Five was essential in the signing of the final agreement. **(Each country will send One representative)**

Russia (formerly USSR): From 1979- 1989, supported the Viet Nam-backed government in Phnom Penh under the leadership of Heng Samrin. Continued to support Phnom Penh government economically and militarily through the 80's.

China (People's Republic); Continued military help to Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge from 1979 on. Uncertainty on present role since the Khmer Rouge became partners in SNC. Along with 17 other nations, signed the1991U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. And later , as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council adopted the agrreement.

United States of America: Involved in Southeast Asia from the early 1950's through 1975 with increasing military involvement in an attempt to keep Vietnam from total Communist rule. In 1970 bombed and invaded neutral Cambodia, fearing hidden Khmer Rouge support of "base camps" for Viet Cong and North Vietnamese communist guerrellas that were threatening the south.

Signed the 1973 Peace Accords. During the 1980's supported the "Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) under the leadership of Son Sann. Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. And later , as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council adopted the agrreement. (See Handout 4E for details of Vietnam War)

France: One of the colonizing powers of Indochina (today's Southeast Asia).

Defeated by Ho Chi Minh and his followers , Viet Minh, in 1954. Leader in creating the Paris Peace Conference (1989-1991) which resulted in the 1991 Peace Agreement for Cambodia. Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia. And later , as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council adopted the agrreement.

United Kingdom: Colonizing power of parts of South East Asia until 1945. Ally of the United States during the Cold War. Supported the Cambodian Coalition seat in the U.N. in 1982.

6. Secretary-General of the United Nations: (See Handout 6B)
Responsible for the implementation of the Peace Agreements.
(One Roundtable Representative-That role should be filled by the Secretary General)

7. Asssociation of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) **(Only one representative from this organization should attend the conference)**:
These nations were vital partners in hosting numerous meetings of the varied groups that had "stakes" in the negotiations between 1979-1991. Among the them:

Thailand: Border country of Cambodia. Neutral player during the Vietnam War. However, United States used bases there to fly secret bombing missions into Cambodia in early 1970's. Many Cambodian refugees fled to the Thai border during the Khmer Rouge rule and later Vietnamese backed government rule.

Some times violent clashes between the Thai border patrols, the refugee camp residents, and the armies of the varied Cambodian factions in exile. Along with 17 other nations, signed the 1991 U.N. Peace Agreement, as part of the Paris Conference on Cambodia.

Indonesia: Host site of several meetings. The Jarkarta Agreement reached here in 1988 and 1989 in which the Cambodian factions agree to meet together and allow an international control mechanism play a role in the final peace agreement.

****Note to teachers:** Your roundtable will have 14 members. Other students can sit around the perimeter of the roundtable and could serve as resources and aids to the members of the roundtable. Those representing France and Indonesdia should act as Co-Chairs of the conference. They should make sure that the members stay on task and help move the discussion toward compromise and concensus.

If you would like fewer members in the roundtable, you can combine the members of the security council and have one representative for that body. You could also count Indonesia and France as one representative or play one of the Co-Chair roles yourself.

Lesson 8

Designing A Peace Plan Abroad and at Home

> "Peacemaking is selflessness taking root.
> To make peace , the skills of teamwork and cooperation are essential.
> There is little we can do for peace as long as we feel we are the only ones
> who know the way. We must decide that making peace
> is more important than making war.
> Venerable Maha Ghosananda

Objectives
Students will be able to:

- work together in creating a documentary of a "world hot spot".
- apply the U.N. peacebuilding model.
- role play a model security council meeting on suggested peace plans for "hot spot".
- work with "third parties" in the community in resoloving issues of local concern.

Materials:

- Excellent resources that can be ordered through UNA-USA
    - Issues.
    - Model UN Materials
- See Resource list at end of lesson

Time On-going student directed activity

Introduction

Review with students what thay have learned about the peace process while studying the Cambodia Peace Agreements. Explain that they will be applying this understanding in doing the following activities.

Learning Sequence

Step 1
You are an investigative reporting team from _____________(country, organization etc) who will design and implement a documentary, or report on one of the following "hot spots":

1. Israel and Palestine
2. Latin America
3. Iraq
4. Croatia/Serbia/Bosnia
5. Haiti
6. Republics of the former USSR

Your documentary must include the following:

- Brief history of conflict; example of recent tension
- Identity of the "major players" both within area of conflict and other "interested" parties
- Identity of 2-3 points of contention; and the desires and wishes of the adversaries
- Explanation of the role of the U.N. and kinds of U.N. "peace action" taken thus far
- Suggestions for possible solutions that would peace-build (similar to Cambodia Plan)
- Possible design of a Peace Plan for _________.

It would be best if your documentary was a group effort. It can take any form you choose. As a group, determine reponsibilities, timelines and presentation.

Step 2

As a UN Peacebuilding specialist from ____________________you read/hear of the documentary on "hot spot", _______________. You develop a resolution based on the documentary to be debated in the UN Security Council.

Step 3 (optional)

Model Security Council Meeting (see resource list)

Step 4 (optional)

Identify a "hot spot" controversy in your school or community. Approach the Humphrey Forum (or a similar youth outreach center in your community), as a third party, and work with them in developing a Peace Action Plan.

Resources

- UNA-USA, Model U.N. and Youth Programs, Jim Muldoon, 485 5th Av, New, New York, 10017-6104, 212-697-3232.
- Humphrey Forum, Steve Sandell, 301 19th Av S., Minneapolis, MN, 55455, 612-624-5799.
- Understanding the United Nations, a teaching module for grades 7-12. UNA-MN, 1929 S. 5th St, Minneapolis, MN., 612-333-2824.
- **Conflict and Change Center**: Provides conflict analysis and maangement of actual dispute situatiions. For more information, contact: Conflict and Change Center, University of Minnesota, 248 Humphrey Center, 310 19th Ave S., Minneapolis, MN, 55455, 612-625-0362.
- **Project Create**: A materials and/or training available that encourages affirmation, tolerance, and empowerment for teachers, students, and community. Contact: Project Create, Ann Griggs or Charles Numrich, 1126 Gibbs Ave., St Paul, MN, 55108, 612-879-4524.

SECTION II

ROLE MODELS FOR PEACE BUILDING

Role Models for Peacebuilding

Research the following recognized peacemakers and identify qualities that set them apart. Then work together in identifying individuals or groups in your school or community who have similar qualities. Design a Peace Award to be presented. Choose to honor one or several with a (school) Peace Prize and arrange for a public acknowledgement and presentation. (This could be a peace parade)

Rigoberta Menchu- Nobel Peace Prize1992

UN Blue Helmets-Nobel Peace Prize 1988

UNICEF-Nobel Peace Prize 1965

Chief Joseph-leader of the Wallowa Valley band of the Nez Perce Indian tribe

Mother Jones-Labor leader, crusader for rights of working class in coal mines.

Ela Bhatt-Founder of the SAelf Employed Women';s Association in Ahmedabad, India; received the Roman Magsaysay Foundation Award (1977), the Asian equivalent of the European Nobel Peace Prize.

Cesar Chevez/Dolores Huerta-Organizers of the United Farm Workers of America

Chief Sarah Winnemucca-Piaute peacemaker, author and leader of her people.

Ch'iu Chin-poet, women's rights activist in China.

Holly Near-singer, performing artist, peace activist.

Saddako-young Japanese girl whose struggle to create 1000 Cranes(symbols of peace) before dying of lukemia, following the bombing of Hiroshima, inspired the international 1000 Crane Club movement.

Other possibilities:

Ida B Wells
Red Cloud
Martin Luther King, Jr
Malcolm X
Eleanor Roosevelt
Frederick Douglas
Mohatma Gandhi
Rosa Park
Desmond Tutu

SECTION III

CLASSROOM STRATEGIES FOR PEACE ACTION PLANS

Resources for Classroom Strategies on Peacebuilding/Conflict Resolution

1. **Conflict and Change Center**: Provides conflict analysis and maangement of actual dispute situatiions. For more information, contact: Conflict and Change Center, University of Minnesota, 248 Humphrey Center, 310 19th Ave S., Minneapolis, MN, 55455, 612-625-0362.

2. **Project Create**: A materials and/or training available that encourages affirmation, tolerance, and empowerment for teachers, students, and community. Contact: Project Create, Ann Griggs or Charles Numrich, 1126 Gibbs Ave., St Paul, MN, 55108, 612-879-4524.

3. **Model U.N.:** An excellent way to experience "another way of looking" and to further explore the role of a third party in conflict resolution. UNA-USA, Model U.N. and Youth Programs, Jim Muldoon, 485 5th Av, New, New York, 10017-6104, 212-697-3232.

4. *Understanding the United Nations*: (1992 Edition) A curriculum module with information on the U.N., and its agencies, with a lesson on "Model UNing". Available through UNA-MN, 1929 S. 5th St, Minneapolis, MN, 45455, 612-333-2824.

5. *Facing History and Ourselves*.: Grades 8-12 unit using history of 20th Century genocide to teach the meaning of dignity, morality, law, behavior and peace. Available through Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation, INC.,25 Kennard Rd., Brookline, MA, 02146, 617-232-1595.

6.The following titles are available through ESR (Educators for Social Responsibility), 23 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA, 02138, 617-492-1764.

> *Dealing With Differences: Conflict Resolution in Our Schools*: a comprehensive program that includes classroom management, skill enhancement and curriculum infusion.
>
> *A Fistfull of Words (*Student Version)-peer mediators and role playing student comments.

7. *A Manuel On Nonviolence and Children*: A resource guide about nonviolence and children with an excellent selection of cooperative simulations for both children and young adults. Available through Stephenie Judson, New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Av, Philadelphia, PA, 19143.

8. *Educating for Global Responsibity: Teacher Designed Curricula for Peace Education:* (Betty Reardon) Instructional materials for students in all grades; classroom tested. Available throughTeachers College Press, 1234 Amsterdam Av, New York, NY, 10027.

9. *Creative Conflict Resolution: More than 200 Activities for Keeping Peace in the Classroom:* (William Kreidler) Resource book of several hundred learning experiences based on twenty conflict resolution techniques. Available through Goodyear Books, Department GYB, 1900 East Lake Av, Glenview, IL, 60025

10. To obtain information on the nationally recognized peer mediation program for schools contact the Cooperative Learning Center, University of Minnesota, 202 Pattee Hall, 150 Pillsbury Drive SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55455-2098.

11. *How to Work for Peace,* (David W. Felder) With its blend of theoritical and practical knowledge, this book is an "original source of information on peace studies, conflict resolution, and citizen diplomacy and of concrete advice on how individuals might work for peace". University Presses of Florida, 15 NW 15th St, Gainesville, Florida, 32611, 904-392-1351.

12. *Mediation Games,* (David Felder) This program has series of games that allow players to act out parts of participants on peace talks that cover personal conflicts, institutional settings, environmental conflicts, courtrroom mediations, world conflicts etc. Contact: Felder Books and Games, 9601-30 Micccosukee Rd., Tallahassee, FL, 32308.

SECTION IV

SELECTED RESOURCES

SELECTED RESOURCES

United Nations

Basic Facts About the United Nations- A resource book that describes in summary form the basic workings of the United Nations; **Contact:** United Nations Publications, Sales Section, Room DC2-853, Dept 701, New York, NY 10017, 212-963-8302

Come to the United Nations, It's Your World (Poster)- The UN Secretariat Building in full color with flags of various members; **Contact**: United Nations Publications, Sales Section, Room DC2-853, Dept 701, New York, NY 10017, 212-963-8302 (North America, Latin America, Asia and the Pacific); United Nations Publications, Sales Section, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland, (22)7-34-60-11 Ext Bookshop (Europe, Africa,Middle East).

Essays on Education: A Vision for Educators, Robert Muller, Former United Nations Assistent Secretary General, Chancellor of the University for Peace. Joanne Dufour, 3406 SW Manning St, Seattle, WA 98126.

Issues Before the General Assembly of the United Nations- An annual publication giving up-to-date information on issues addressed by the UN General Assembly; **Contact**: **United Nations Association of the USA (UNA/USA),** 485 Fifth AveNew York, NY, 10017, 212-697-3232.

Understanding the United Nations- 1992 Revised Edition. A teaching module for grades 7-12 that introduces students to the importance of the UN through 10 lesson plans that teachers can readily integrate into existing courses. **Contact:** United Nations Association of Minnesota, Mary Eileen Sorenson, 1929 S. 5th St. Minneapolis, MN, 55454, 612-333-2824.

UNESCO- Free magazine, UNESCO Sources, contains short articles on education, science and culture. Contact: UNESCO, 7, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France.

UNESCO Associated School Projects-Connects students and schools around the world who wish to share with each other. UNESCO, Associated School Project, Palace of Nations, 1211 Geneva, 10, Switzerland.

UNESCO Films (catalogue)- UNESCO Liaison Office, 2 United Nations Plaza, Suite 900, New York, NY 10017.

UN Film and Video Catalogue- UN Radio and Visual Service, Department of Public Information, Rm S-845, United Nations, New York, NY, 10017212-963-6939.

UNICEF Classroom Materials, Films, Videos- 333 East 38th St, New York, NY 10016, 212-686-5522.

UNIPUB- Distributes publications from FAO, GATT, IAEA, ILO, IMO, UN, UNESCO, UNITAR, UNU, WIPO and other international sources. Free catalogue. **Contact:** UNIPUB, 10033-F King Highway, Lanham, MD, 20706-4391, MD: 301-419-7666; US: 800-233-0506.

United Nations Documents. **Contact:** United Nations Sales Section, Room DC2-853, Dept 701, New York, NY, 10017, 212-963-8302.

United Nations Association of the USA (UNA/USA), 485 Fifth AveNew York, NY, 10017, 212-697-3232.

United Nations Bookshop, Room GA-32, New York, NY, 10017, 212-963-7680; 800-553-3210

The United Nations in the Classsroom- An information packet on recommended educational materials for elementary and secondary educators and reference material for high school libraries. **Contact**: United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA), 485 Fifth AveNew York, NY, 10017, 212-697-3232.

United Nations Sales Section (Free catalogue of UN publications)- Room DC2-853, Dept 701, New York, NY, 10017, 212-963-8302.

Conflict Resolution

Carpenter, Susan. A Reportiore of Peacemaking Skills, Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development, 1977.

Fisher, Roger, and William Ury. Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreements Without Giving In. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981.

Johnson, David W., and Roger T. Johnson. Learning Together and Alone: Cooperation, Competition and Individualization. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentiss Hall, 1975.

Laurenti, Jeffrey. The Common Defense: Peace and Security in a Changing World, The Global Policy Project, United Nations Association-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY, 10017-6104, 212-697-3232.

UNA-USA, Partners for Peace: Strengthening Collective Security for the 21st Century, A Report of the Global Policy Project, United Nations Association-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY, 10017-6104, 212-697-3232.

APPENDIX

AGENDA FOR PEACE

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

An Agenda for Peace

Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping

Report
of the Secretary-General
pursuant to the statement adopted
by the Summit Meeting of the
Security Council on
31 January 1992

United Nations · New York, 1992

Office of Conference Services
Department of Administration and Management

Department of Public Information

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Introduction

IN ITS STATEMENT of 31 January 1992, adopted 1
at the conclusion of the first meeting held by the Security Council at the level of Heads of State and Government, I was invited to prepare, for circulation to the Members of the United Nations by 1 July 1992, an "analysis and recommendations on ways of strengthening and making more efficient within the framework and provisions of the Charter the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, for peacemaking and for peace-keeping."

The United Nations is a gathering of sovereign 2
States and what it can do depends on the common ground that they create between them. The adversarial decades of the cold war made the original promise of the Organization impossible to fulfil. The January 1992 Summit therefore represented an unprecedented recommitment, at the highest political level, to the Purposes and Principles of the Charter.

In these past months a conviction has grown, 3
among nations large and small, that an opportunity has been regained to achieve the great objectives of the Charter—a United Nations capable of maintaining international peace and security, of securing justice and human rights and of promoting, in the words of the Charter, "social progress and better

standards of life in larger freedom". This opportunity must not be squandered. The Organization must never again be crippled as it was in the era that has now passed.

4 I welcome the invitation of the Security Council, early in my tenure as Secretary-General, to prepare this report. It draws upon ideas and proposals transmitted to me by Governments, regional agencies, non-governmental organizations, and institutions and individuals from many countries. I am grateful for these, even as I emphasize that the responsibility for this report is my own.

5 The sources of conflict and war are pervasive and deep. To reach them will require our utmost effort to enhance respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, to promote sustainable economic and social development for wider prosperity, to alleviate distress and to curtail the existence and use of massively destructive weapons. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the largest summit ever held, has just met at Rio de Janeiro. Next year will see the second World Conference on Human Rights. In 1994 Population and Development will be addressed. In 1995 the World Conference on Women will take place, and a World Summit for Social Development has been proposed. Throughout my term as Secretary-General I shall be addressing all these great issues. I bear them all in mind as, in the present report, I turn to the problems that the Council has specifically requested I consider: preventive diplomacy,

peacemaking and peace-keeping—to which I have added a closely related concept, post-conflict peace-building.

6 The manifest desire of the membership to work together is a new source of strength in our common endeavour. Success is far from certain, however. While my report deals with ways to improve the Organization's capacity to pursue and preserve peace, it is crucial for all Member States to bear in mind that the search for improved mechanisms and techniques will be of little significance unless this new spirit of commonality is propelled by the will to take the hard decisions demanded by this time of opportunity.

7 It is therefore with a sense of moment, and with gratitude, that I present this report to the Members of the United Nations.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

1. The changing context

IN THE COURSE of the past few years the immense ideological barrier that for decades gave rise to distrust and hostility—and the terrible tools of destruction that were their inseparable companions—has collapsed. Even as the issues between States north and south grow more acute, and call for attention at the highest levels of government, the improvement in relations between States east and west affords new possibilities, some already realized, to meet successfully threats to common security. 8

Authoritarian regimes have given way to more democratic forces and responsive Governments. The form, scope and intensity of these processes differ from Latin America to Africa to Europe to Asia, but they are sufficiently similar to indicate a global phenomenon. Parallel to these political changes, many States are seeking more open forms of economic policy, creating a worldwide sense of dynamism and movement. 9

To the hundreds of millions who gained their independence in the surge of decolonization following the creation of the United Nations, have been added millions more who have recently gained freedom. Once again new States are taking their seats in the General Assembly. Their arrival reconfirms the importance and indispensability of the sovereign State as the fundamental entity of the international community. 10

We have entered a time of global transition marked by uniquely contradictory trends. Regional and continental as- 11 sociations of States are evolving ways to deepen cooperation and ease some of the contentious characteristics of sovereign and nationalistic rivalries. National boundaries are blurred by advanced communications and global commerce, and by the decisions of States to yield some sovereign prerogatives to larger, common political associations. At the same time, however, fierce new assertions of nationalism and sovereignty spring up, and the cohesion of States is threatened by brutal ethnic, religious, social, cultural or linguistic strife. Social peace is challenged on the one hand by new assertions of discrimination and exclusion and, on the other, by acts of terrorism seeking to undermine evolution and change through democratic means.

12 The concept of peace is easy to grasp; that of international security is more complex, for a pattern of contradictions has arisen here as well. As major nuclear powers have begun to negotiate arms reduction agreements, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction threatens to increase and conventional arms continue to be amassed in many parts of the world. As racism becomes recognized for the destructive force it is and as apartheid is being dismantled, new racial tensions are rising and finding expression in violence. Technological advances are altering the nature and the expectation of life all over the globe. The revolution in communications has united the world in awareness, in aspiration and in greater solidarity against injustice. But progress also brings new risks for stability: ecological damage, disruption of family and community life, greater intrusion into the lives and rights of individuals.

13 This new dimension of insecurity must not be allowed to obscure the continuing and devastating problems of unchecked population growth, crushing debt burdens, barriers

to trade, drugs and the growing disparity between rich and poor. Poverty, disease, famine, oppression and despair abound, joining to produce 17 million refugees, 20 million displaced persons and massive migrations of peoples within and beyond national borders. These are both sources and consequences of conflict that require the ceaseless attention and the highest priority in the efforts of the United Nations. A porous ozone shield could pose a greater threat to an exposed population than a hostile army. Drought and disease can decimate no less mercilessly than the weapons of war. So at this moment of renewed opportunity, the efforts of the Organization to build peace, stability and security must encompass matters beyond military threats in order to break the fetters of strife and warfare that have characterized the past. But armed conflicts today, as they have throughout history, continue to bring fear and horror to humanity, requiring our urgent involvement to try to prevent, contain and bring them to an end.

Since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, over 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. The United Nations was rendered powerless to deal with many of these crises because of the vetoes—279 of them—cast in the Security Council, which were a vivid expression of the divisions of that period. *14*

With the end of the cold war there have been no such vetoes since 31 May 1990, and demands on the United Nations have surged. Its security arm, once disabled by circumstances it was not created or equipped to control, has emerged as a central instrument for the prevention and resolution of conflicts and for the preservation of peace. Our aims must be: *15*

- To seek to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict, and to try through diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence results;

- Where conflict erupts, to engage in peacemaking aimed at resolving the issues that have led to conflict;
- Through peace-keeping, to work to preserve peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers;
- To stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war;
- And in the largest sense, to address the deepest causes of conflict: economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. It is possible to discern an increasingly common moral perception that spans the world's nations and peoples, and which is finding expression in international laws, many owing their genesis to the work of this Organization.

16 This wider mission for the world Organization will demand the concerted attention and effort of individual States, of regional and non-governmental organizations and of all of the United Nations system, with each of the principal organs functioning in the balance and harmony that the Charter requires. The Security Council has been assigned by all Member States the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter. In its broadest sense this responsibility must be shared by the General Assembly and by all the functional elements of the world Organization. Each has a special and indispensable role to play in an integrated approach to human security. The Secretary-General's contribution rests on the pattern of trust and cooperation established between him and the deliberative organs of the United Nations.

The foundation-stone of this work is and must remain the State. Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress. The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality. It is the task of leaders of States today to understand this and to find a balance between the needs of good internal governance and the requirements of an ever more interdependent world. Commerce, communications and environmental matters transcend administrative borders; but inside those borders is where individuals carry out the first order of their economic, political and social lives. The United Nations has not closed its door. Yet if every ethnic, religious or linguistic group claimed statehood, there would be no limit to fragmentation, and peace, security and economic well-being for all would become ever more difficult to achieve. *17*

One requirement for solutions to these problems lies in commitment to human rights with a special sensitivity to those of minorities, whether ethnic, religious, social or linguistic. The League of Nations provided a machinery for the international protection of minorities. The General Assembly soon will have before it a declaration on the rights of minorities. That instrument, together with the increasingly effective machinery of the United Nations dealing with human rights, should enhance the situation of minorities as well as the stability of States. *18*

Globalism and nationalism need not be viewed as opposing trends, doomed to spur each other on to extremes of reaction. The healthy globalization of contemporary life requires *19* in the first instance solid identities and fundamental freedoms. The sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States within the established international system, and the principle of self-determination for peoples, both of great value and importance, must not be permitted to work against each other in the period ahead. Respect for democratic principles at all levels of social existence is crucial: in communities, within States and within the community of States. Our constant duty should be to maintain the integrity of each while finding a balanced design for all.

II. Definitions

THE TERMS preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping are integrally related and as used in this report are defined as follows: 20

- *Preventive diplomacy* is action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.
- *Peacemaking* is action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.
- *Peace-keeping* is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.

The present report in addition will address the critically related concept of post-conflict *peace-building*—action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peacemaking and peace-keeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for post- 21 conflict peace-building, which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and peoples.

22 These four areas for action, taken together, and carried out with the backing of all Members, offer a coherent contribution towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter. The United Nations has extensive experience not only in these fields, but in the wider realm of work for peace in which these four fields are set. Initiatives on decolonization, on the environment and sustainable development, on population, on the eradication of disease, on disarmament and on the growth of international law—these and many others have contributed immeasurably to the foundations for a peaceful world. The world has often been rent by conflict and plagued by massive human suffering and deprivation. Yet it would have been far more so without the continuing efforts of the United Nations. This wide experience must be taken into account in assessing the potential of the United Nations in maintaining international security not only in its traditional sense, but in the new dimensions presented by the era ahead.

III. Preventive diplomacy

THE MOST desirable and efficient employment of diplomacy is to ease tensions before they result in conflict—or, if conflict breaks out, to act swiftly to contain it and resolve its underlying causes. Preventive diplomacy may be performed by the Secretary-General personally or through senior staff or specialized agencies and programmes, by the Security Council or the General Assembly, and by regional organizations in cooperation with the United Nations. Preventive diplomacy requires measures to create confidence; it needs early warning based on information gathering and informal or formal fact-finding; it may also involve preventive deployment and, in some situations, demilitarized zones. 23

MEASURES TO BUILD CONFIDENCE

Mutual confidence and good faith are essential to reducing the likelihood of conflict between States. Many such measures are available to Governments that have the will to employ them. Systematic exchange of military missions, formation of regional or subregional risk reduction centres, arrangements for the free flow of information, including the monitoring of regional arms agreements, are examples. I ask all regional organizations to consider what further confidence-building measures might be applied in their areas and to inform the United Nations of the results. I will undertake periodic consultations on confidence-building measures with parties to potential, current or past disputes and with re- 24 gional organizations, offering such advisory assistance as the Secretariat can provide.

FACT-FINDING

25 Preventive steps must be based upon timely and accurate knowledge of the facts. Beyond this, an understanding of developments and global trends, based on sound analysis, is required. And the willingness to take appropriate preventive action is essential. Given the economic and social roots of many potential conflicts, the information needed by the United Nations now must encompass economic and social trends as well as political developments that may lead to dangerous tensions.

(*a*) An increased resort to fact-finding is needed, in accordance with the Charter, initiated either by the Secretary-General, to enable him to meet his responsibilities under the Charter, including Article 99, or by the Security Council or the General Assembly. Various forms may be employed selectively as the situation requires. A request by a State for the sending of a United Nations fact-finding mission to its territory should be considered without undue delay.

(*b*) Contacts with the Governments of Member States can provide the Secretary-General with detailed information on issues of concern. I ask that all Member States be ready to provide the information needed for effective preventive diplomacy. I will supplement my own contacts by regularly sending senior officials on missions for consultations in capitals or other locations. Such contacts are essential to gain insight into a situation and to assess its potential ramifications.

(*c*) Formal fact-finding can be mandated by the Security Council or by the General Assembly, either of which may elect to send a mission under its immediate authority or may invite the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, including the designation of a special envoy. In addition to collecting information on which a decision for further action can be taken, such a mission can in some instances help to defuse a dispute by its presence, indicating to the parties that the Organization, and in particular the Security Council, is actively seized of the matter as a present or potential threat to international security.

(*d*) In exceptional circumstances the Council may meet away from Headquarters as the Charter provides, in order not only to inform itself directly, but also to bring the authority of the Organization to bear on a given situation.

EARLY WARNING

In recent years the United Nations system has been developing a valuable network of early warning systems concerning environmental threats, the risk of nuclear accident, natural disasters, mass movements of populations, the threat of famine and the spread of disease. There is a need, however, to strengthen arrangements in such a manner that information from these sources can be synthesized with political indicators to assess whether a threat to peace exists and to analyse what action might be taken by the United Nations to alleviate *26* it. This is a process that will continue to require the close co-operation of the various specialized agencies and functional offices of the United Nations. The analyses and recommendations for preventive action that emerge will be made available by me, as appropriate, to the Security Council and other United Nations organs. I recommend in addition that the Security Council invite a reinvigorated and restructured Economic and Social Council to provide reports, in accordance with Article 65 of the Charter, on those economic and social developments that may, unless mitigated, threaten international peace and security.

27 Regional arrangements and organizations have an important role in early warning. I ask regional organizations that have not yet sought observer status at the United Nations to do so and to be linked, through appropriate arrangements, with the security mechanisms of this Organization.

PREVENTIVE DEPLOYMENT

28 United Nations operations in areas of crisis have generally been established after conflict has occurred. The time has come to plan for circumstances warranting preventive deployment, which could take place in a variety of instances and ways. For example, in conditions of national crisis there could be preventive deployment at the request of the Government or all parties concerned, or with their consent; in inter-State disputes such deployment could take place when two countries feel that a United Nations presence on both sides of their border can discourage hostilities; furthermore, preventive deployment could take place when a country feels threatened and requests the deployment of an appropriate United Nations presence along its side of the border alone. In each

situation, the mandate and composition of the United Nations presence would need to be carefully devised and be clear to all.

In conditions of crisis within a country, when the Government requests or all parties consent, preventive deployment could help in a number of ways to alleviate suffering and to limit or control violence. Humanitarian assistance, impartially provided, could be of critical importance; assistance in maintaining security, whether through military, police or civilian personnel, could save lives and develop conditions of safety in which negotiations can be held; the United Nations could also help in conciliation efforts if this should be the wish of the parties. In certain circumstances, the United Nations may well need to draw upon the specialized skills and resources of various parts of the United Nations system; such operations may also on occasion require the participation of non-governmental organizations. *29*

In these situations of internal crisis the United Nations will need to respect the sovereignty of the State; to do otherwise would not be in accordance with the understanding of Member States in accepting the principles of the Charter. The Organization must remain mindful of the carefully negotiated balance of the guiding principles annexed to General Assembly resolution 46/182 of 19 December 1991. Those guidelines stressed, *inter alia*, that humanitarian assistance must be provided in accordance with the principles of humanity, neutrality and impartiality; that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of States must be fully respected in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; and that, in this context, humanitarian assistance should be provided with the consent of the affected country and, in principle, on the basis of an appeal by that country. *30*

The guidelines also stressed the responsibility of States to take care of the victims of emergencies occurring on their territory and the need for access to those requiring humanitarian assistance. In the light of these guidelines, a Government's request for United Nations involvement, or consent to it, would not be an infringement of that State's sovereignty or be contrary to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter which refers to matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

31 In inter-State disputes, when both parties agree, I recommend that if the Security Council concludes that the likelihood of hostilities between neighbouring countries could be removed by the preventive deployment of a United Nations presence on the territory of each State, such action should be taken. The nature of the tasks to be performed would determine the composition of the United Nations presence.

32 In cases where one nation fears a cross-border attack, if the Security Council concludes that a United Nations presence on one side of the border, with the consent only of the requesting country, would serve to deter conflict, I recommend that preventive deployment take place. Here again, the specific nature of the situation would determine the mandate and the personnel required to fulfil it.

DEMILITARIZED ZONES

33 In the past, demilitarized zones have been established by agreement of the parties at the conclusion of a conflict. In addition to the deployment of United Nations personnel in such zones as part of peace-keeping operations, consideration should now be given to the usefulness of such zones as a form of preventive deployment, on both sides of a border, with the

agreement of the two parties, as a means of separating potential belligerents, or on one side of the line, at the request of one party, for the purpose of removing any pretext for attack. Demilitarized zones would serve as symbols of the international community's concern that conflict be prevented.

IV. Peacemaking

34 BETWEEN the tasks of seeking to prevent conflict and keeping the peace lies the responsibility to try to bring hostile parties to agreement by peaceful means. Chapter VI of the Charter sets forth a comprehensive list of such means for the resolution of conflict. These have been amplified in various declarations adopted by the General Assembly, including the Manila Declaration of 1982 on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and the 1988 Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and Situations Which May Threaten International Peace and Security and on the Role of the United Nations in this Field. They have also been the subject of various resolutions of the General Assembly, including resolution 44/21 of 15 November 1989 on enhancing international peace, security and international cooperation in all its aspects in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The United Nations has had wide experience in the application of these peaceful means. If conflicts have gone unresolved, it is not because techniques for peaceful settlement were unknown or inadequate. The fault lies first in the lack of political will of parties to seek a solution to their differences through such means as are suggested in Chapter VI of the Charter, and second, in the lack of leverage at the disposal of a third party if this is the procedure chosen. The indifference of the international community to a problem, or the marginalization of it, can also thwart the possibilities of solution. We must look primarily to these areas if we hope to

enhance the capacity of the Organization for achieving peaceful settlements.

The present determination in the Security Council to resolve international disputes in the manner foreseen in the Charter has opened the way for a more active Council role. With greater unity has come leverage and persuasive power to lead hostile parties towards negotiations. I urge the Council to take full advantage of the provisions of the Charter under which it may recommend appropriate procedures or methods for dispute settlement and, if all the parties to a dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties for a pacific settlement of the dispute. *35*

The General Assembly, like the Security Council and the Secretary-General, also has an important role assigned to it under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security. As a universal forum, its capacity to consider and recommend appropriate action must be recognized. To that end it is essential to promote its utilization by all Member States so as to bring greater influence to bear in pre-empting or containing situations which are likely to threaten international peace and security. *36*

Mediation and negotiation can be undertaken by an individual designated by the Security Council, by the General Assembly or by the Secretary-General. There is a long history of the utilization by the United Nations of distinguished statesmen to facilitate the processes of peace. They can bring a personal prestige that, in addition to their experience, can encourage the parties to enter serious negotiations. There is a wide willingness to serve in this capacity, from which I shall continue to benefit as the need arises. Frequently it is the Secretary-General himself who undertakes the task. While the mediator's effectiveness is enhanced by strong and evi- *37* dent support from the Council, the General Assembly and the relevant Member States acting in their national capacity, the good offices of the Secretary-General may at times be employed most effectively when conducted independently of the deliberative bodies. Close and continuous consultation between the Secretary-General and the Security Council is, however, essential to ensure full awareness of how the Council's influence can best be applied and to develop a common strategy for the peaceful settlement of specific disputes.

THE WORLD COURT

38 The docket of the International Court of Justice has grown fuller but it remains an under-used resource for the peaceful adjudication of disputes. Greater reliance on the Court would be an important contribution to United Nations peacemaking. In this connection, I call attention to the power of the Security Council under Articles 36 and 37 of the Charter to recommend to Member States the submission of a dispute to the International Court of Justice, arbitration or other dispute-settlement mechanisms. I recommend that the Secretary-General be authorized, pursuant to article 96, paragraph 2, of the Charter, to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court and that other United Nations organs that already enjoy such authorization turn to the Court more frequently for advisory opinions.

39 I recommend the following steps to reinforce the role of the International Court of Justice:

(*a*) All Member States should accept the general jurisdiction of the International Court under Article 36 of its Statute, without any reservation, before the end of the United Nations Decade of International

Law in the year 2000. In instances where domestic structures prevent this, States should agree bilaterally or multilaterally to a comprehensive list of matters they are willing to submit to the Court and should withdraw their reservations to its jurisdiction in the dispute settlement clauses of multilateral treaties;

(*b*) When submission of a dispute to the full Court is not practical, the Chambers jurisdiction should be used;

(*c*) States should support the Trust Fund established to assist countries unable to afford the cost involved in bringing a dispute to the Court, and such countries should take full advantage of the Fund in order to resolve their disputes.

AMELIORATION THROUGH ASSISTANCE

Peacemaking is at times facilitated by international action to ameliorate circumstances that have contributed to the dispute or conflict. If, for instance, assistance to displaced persons within a society is essential to a solution, then the United Nations should be able to draw upon the resources of all agencies and programmes concerned. At present, there is no adequate mechanism in the United Nations through which the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Secretary-General can mobilize the resources needed for such positive leverage and engage the collective efforts of the United Nations system for the peaceful resolution of a conflict. I have raised this concept in the Administrative Committee on Coordination, which brings together the executive heads of United Nations agencies and programmes; we are exploring *40* methods by which the inter-agency system can improve its contribution to the peaceful resolution of disputes.

SANCTIONS AND SPECIAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

41 In circumstances when peacemaking requires the imposition of sanctions under Article 41 of the Charter, it is important that States confronted with special economic problems not only have the right to consult the Security Council regarding such problems, as Article 50 provides, but also have a realistic possibility of having their difficulties addressed. I recommend that the Security Council devise a set of measures involving the financial institutions and other components of the United Nations system that can be put in place to insulate States from such difficulties. Such measures would be a matter of equity and a means of encouraging States to cooperate with decisions of the Council.

USE OF MILITARY FORCE

42 It is the essence of the concept of collective security as contained in the Charter that if peaceful means fail, the measures provided in Chapter VII should be used, on the decision of the Security Council, to maintain or restore international peace and security in the face of a "threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression". The Security Council has not so far made use of the most coercive of these measures — the action by military force foreseen in Article 42. In the situation between Iraq and Kuwait, the Council chose to authorize Member States to take measures on its behalf. The Charter, however, provides a detailed approach which now merits the attention of all Member States.

Under Article 42 of the Charter, the Security Council has the authority to take military action to maintain or restore international peace and security. While such action should only be taken when all peaceful means have failed, the option of taking it is essential to the credibility of the United Nations as a guarantor of international security. This will require bringing into being, through negotiations, the special agreements foreseen in Article 43 of the Charter, whereby Member States undertake to make armed forces, assistance and facilities available to the Security Council for the purposes stated in Article 42, not only on an ad hoc basis but on a permanent basis. Under the political circumstances that now exist for the first time since the Charter was adopted, the long-standing obstacles to the conclusion of such special agreements should no longer prevail. The ready availability of armed forces on call could serve, in itself, as a means of deterring breaches of the peace since a potential aggressor would know that the Council had at its disposal a means of response. Forces under Article 43 may perhaps never be sufficiently large or well enough equipped to deal with a threat from a major army equipped with sophisticated weapons. They would be useful, however, in meeting any threat posed by a military force of a lesser order. I recommend that the Security Council initiate negotiations in accordance with Article 43, supported by the Military Staff Committee, which may be augmented if necessary by others in accordance with Article 47, paragraph 2, of the Charter. It is my view that the role of the Military Staff Committee should be seen in the context of Chapter VII, and not that of the planning or conduct of peace-keeping operations. 43

PEACE-ENFORCEMENT UNITS

44 The mission of forces under Article 43 would be to respond to outright aggression, imminent or actual. Such forces are not likely to be available for some time to come. Cease-fires have often been agreed to but not complied with, and the United Nations has sometimes been called upon to send forces to restore and maintain the cease-fire. This task can on occasion exceed the mission of peace-keeping forces and the expectations of peace-keeping force contributors. I recommend that the Council consider the utilization of peace-enforcement units in clearly defined circumstances and with their terms of reference specified in advance. Such units from Member States would be available on call and would consist of troops that have volunteered for such service. They would have to be more heavily armed than peace-keeping forces and would need to undergo extensive preparatory training within their national forces. Deployment and operation of such forces would be under the authorization of the Security Council and would, as in the case of peace-keeping forces, be under the command of the Secretary-General. I consider such peace-enforcement units to be warranted as a provisional measure under Article 40 of the Charter. Such peace-enforcement units should not be confused with the forces that may eventually be constituted under Article 43 to deal with acts of aggression or with the military personnel which Governments may agree to keep on stand-by for possible contribution to peace-keeping operations.

45 Just as diplomacy will continue across the span of all the activities dealt with in the present report, so there may not be a dividing line between peacemaking and peace-keeping. Peacemaking is often a prelude to peace-keeping—just as the

deployment of a United Nations presence in the field may expand possibilities for the prevention of conflict, facilitate the work of peacemaking and in many cases serve as a prerequisite for peace-building.

V. Peace-keeping

46 PEACE-KEEPING can rightly be called the invention of the United Nations. It has brought a degree of stability to numerous areas of tension around the world.

INCREASING DEMANDS

47 Thirteen peace-keeping operations were established between the years 1945 and 1987; 13 others since then. An estimated 528,000 military, police and civilian personnel had served under the flag of the United Nations until January 1992. Over 800 of them from 43 countries have died in the service of the Organization. The costs of these operations have aggregated some $8.3 billion till 1992. The unpaid arrears towards them stand at over $800 million, which represent a debt owed by the Organization to the troop-contributing countries. Peace-keeping operations approved at present are estimated to cost close to $3 billion in the current 12-month period, while patterns of payment are unacceptably slow. Against this, global defence expenditures at the end of the last decade had approached $1 trillion a year, or $2 million per minute.

48 The contrast between the costs of United Nations peace-keeping and the costs of the alternative, war—between the demands of the Organization and the means provided to meet them—would be farcical were the consequences not so damaging to global stability and to the credibility of the Organization. At a time when nations and peoples increasingly are

looking to the United Nations for assistance in keeping the peace—and holding it responsible when this cannot be so—fundamental decisions must be taken to enhance the capacity of the Organization in this innovative and productive exercise of its function. I am conscious that the present volume and unpredictability of peace-keeping assessments poses real problems for some Member States. For this reason, I strongly support proposals in some Member States for their peace-keeping contributions to be financed from defence, rather than foreign affairs, budgets and I recommend such action to others. I urge the General Assembly to encourage this approach.

The demands on the United Nations for peace-keeping, and peace-building, operations will in the coming years continue to challenge the capacity, the political and financial will and the creativity of the Secretariat and Member States. Like the Security Council, I welcome the increase and broadening of the tasks of peace-keeping operations. *49*

NEW DEPARTURES IN PEACE-KEEPING

The nature of peace-keeping operations has evolved rapidly in recent years. The established principles and practices of peace-keeping have responded flexibly to new demands of recent years, and the basic conditions for success remain unchanged: a clear and practicable mandate; the cooperation of the parties in implementing that mandate; the continuing support of the Security Council; the readiness of Member States to contribute the military, police and civilian personnel, including specialists, required; effective United Nations command at Headquarters and in the field; and adequate financial and logistic support. As the international climate has *50* changed and peace-keeping operations are increasingly fielded to help implement settlements that have been negotiated by peacemakers, a new array of demands and problems has emerged regarding logistics, equipment, personnel and finance, all of which could be corrected if Member States so wished and were ready to make the necessary resources available.

PERSONNEL

51 Member States are keen to participate in peace-keeping operations. Military observers and infantry are invariably available in the required numbers, but logistic units present a greater problem, as few armies can afford to spare such units for an extended period. Member States were requested in 1990 to state what military personnel they were in principle prepared to make available; few replied. I reiterate the request to all Member States to reply frankly and promptly. Stand-by arrangements should be confirmed, as appropriate, through exchanges of letters between the Secretariat and Member States concerning the kind and number of skilled personnel they will be prepared to offer the United Nations as the needs of new operations arise.

52 Increasingly, peace-keeping requires that civilian political officers, human rights monitors, electoral officials, refugee and humanitarian aid specialists and police play as central a role as the military. Police personnel have proved increasingly difficult to obtain in the numbers required. I recommend that arrangements be reviewed and improved for training peace-keeping personnel—civilian, police, or military—using the varied capabilities of Member State Governments, of non-governmental organizations and the facilities of the Secretariat. As efforts go forward to include additional States as contributors, some States with considerable potential should focus on language training for police contingents which may serve with the Organization. As for the United Nations itself, special personnel procedures, including incentives, should be instituted to permit the rapid transfer of Secretariat staff members to service with peace-keeping operations. The strength and capability of military staff serving in the Secretariat should be augmented to meet new and heavier requirements.

LOGISTICS

Not all Governments can provide their battalions with the equipment they need for service abroad. While some equipment is provided by troop-contributing countries, a great deal has to come from the United Nations, including equipment to fill gaps in under-equipped national units. The United Nations has no standing stock of such equipment. Orders must be placed with manufacturers, which creates a number of difficulties. A pre-positioned stock of basic peace-keeping equipment should be established, so that at least some vehicles, communications equipment, generators, etc., would be immediately available at the start of an operation. Alternatively, Governments should commit themselves to keeping certain equipment, specified by the Secretary-General, on stand-by for immediate sale, loan or donation to the United Nations when required. *53*

Member States in a position to do so should make air- and sea-lift capacity available to the United Nations free of cost or at lower than commercial rates, as was the practice until recently. *54*

VI. Post-conflict peace-building

55 PEACEMAKING and peace-keeping operations, to be truly successful, must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people. Through agreements ending civil strife, these may include disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation.

56 In the aftermath of international war, post-conflict peace-building may take the form of concrete cooperative projects which link two or more countries in a mutually beneficial undertaking that can not only contribute to economic and social development but also enhance the confidence that is so fundamental to peace. I have in mind, for example, projects that bring States together to develop agriculture, improve transportation or utilize resources such as water or electricity that they need to share, or joint programmes through which barriers between nations are brought down by means of freer travel, cultural exchanges and mutually beneficial youth and educational projects. Reducing hostile perceptions through educational exchanges and curriculum reform may be essential to forestall a re-emergence of cultural and national tensions which could spark renewed hostilities.

57 In surveying the range of efforts for peace, the concept of peace-building as the construction of a new environment should be viewed as the counterpart of preventive diplomacy, which seeks to avoid the breakdown of peaceful conditions. When conflict breaks out, mutually reinforcing efforts at peacemaking and peace-keeping come into play. Once these have achieved their objectives, only sustained, cooperative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems can place an achieved peace on a durable foundation. Preventive diplomacy is to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peace-building is to prevent a recurrence.

58 Increasingly it is evident that peace-building after civil or international strife must address the serious problem of land mines, many tens of millions of which remain scattered in present or former combat zones. De-mining should be emphasized in the terms of reference of peace-keeping operations and is crucially important in the restoration of activity when peace-building is under way: agriculture cannot be revived without de-mining and the restoration of transport may require the laying of hard surface roads to prevent re-mining. In such instances, the link becomes evident between peace-keeping and peace-building. Just as demilitarized zones may serve the cause of preventive diplomacy and preventive deployment to avoid conflict, so may demilitarization assist in keeping the peace or in post-conflict peace-building, as a measure for heightening the sense of security and encouraging the parties to turn their energies to the work of peaceful restoration of their societies.

59 There is a new requirement for technical assistance which the United Nations has an obligation to develop and provide when requested: support for the transformation of deficient national structures and capabilities, and for the

strengthening of new democratic institutions. The authority of the United Nations system to act in this field would rest on the consensus that social peace is as important as strategic or political peace. There is an obvious connection between democratic practices—such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making—and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order. These elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities.

VII. Cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations

THE COVENANT of the League of Nations, in its Article 21, noted the validity of regional understandings for securing the maintenance of peace. The Charter devotes Chapter VIII to regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action and consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The cold war impaired the proper use of Chapter VIII and indeed, in that era, regional arrangements worked on occasion against resolving disputes in the manner foreseen in the Charter. *60*

The Charter deliberately provides no precise definition of regional arrangements and agencies, thus allowing useful flexibility for undertakings by a group of States to deal with a matter appropriate for regional action which also could contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security. Such associations or entities could include treaty-based organizations, whether created before or after the founding of the United Nations, regional organizations for mutual security and defence, organizations for general regional development or for cooperation on a particular economic topic or function, and groups created to deal with a specific political, economic or social issue of current concern. *61*

In this regard, the United Nations has recently encouraged a rich variety of complementary efforts. Just as no two regions or situations are the same, so the design of coopera- *62* tive work and its division of labour must adapt to the realities of each case with flexibility and creativity. In Africa, three different regional groups—the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference—joined efforts with the United Nations regarding Somalia. In the Asian context, the Association of South-East Asian Nations and individual States from several regions were brought together with the parties to the Cambodian conflict at an international conference in Paris, to work with the United Nations. For El Salvador, a unique arrangement—"The Friends of the Secretary-General"—contributed to agreements reached through the mediation of the Secretary-General. The end of the war in Nicaragua involved a highly complex effort which was initiated by leaders of the region and conducted by individual States, groups of States and the Organization of American States. Efforts undertaken by the European Community and its member States, with the support of States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, have been of central importance in dealing with the crisis in the Balkans and neighbouring areas.

63 In the past, regional arrangements often were created because of the absence of a universal system for collective security; thus their activities could on occasion work at cross-purposes with the sense of solidarity required for the effectiveness of the world Organization. But in this new era of opportunity, regional arrangements or agencies can render great service if their activities are undertaken in a manner consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, and if their relationship with the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, is governed by Chapter VIII.

64 It is not the purpose of the present report to set forth any

formal pattern of relationship between regional organizations and the United Nations, or to call for any specific division of labour. What is clear, however, is that regional arrangements or agencies in many cases possess a potential that should be utilized in serving the functions covered in this report: preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building. Under the Charter, the Security Council has and will continue to have primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, but regional action as a matter of decentralization, delegation and cooperation with United Nations efforts could not only lighten the burden of the Council but also contribute to a deeper sense of participation, consensus and democratization in international affairs.

Regional arrangements and agencies have not in recent decades been considered in this light, even when originally designed in part for a role in maintaining or restoring peace within their regions of the world. Today a new sense exists that they have contributions to make. Consultations between the United Nations and regional arrangements or agencies could do much to build international consensus on the nature of a problem and the measures required to address it. Regional organizations participating in complementary efforts with the United Nations in joint undertakings would encourage States outside the region to act supportively. And should the Security Council choose specifically to authorize a regional arrangement or organization to take the lead in addressing a crisis within its region, it could serve to lend the weight of the United Nations to the validity of the regional effort. Carried forward in the spirit of the Charter, and as envisioned in Chapter VIII, the approach outlined here could strengthen a general sense that democratization is being en- 65 couraged at all levels in the task of maintaining international peace and security, it being essential to continue to recognize that the primary responsibility will continue to reside in the Security Council.

VIII. Safety of personnel

66 WHEN United Nations personnel are deployed in conditions of strife, whether for preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping, peace-building or humanitarian purposes, the need arises to ensure their safety. There has been an unconscionable increase in the number of fatalities. Following the conclusion of a cease-fire and in order to prevent further outbreaks of violence, United Nations guards were called upon to assist in volatile conditions in Iraq. Their presence afforded a measure of security to United Nations personnel and supplies and, in addition, introduced an element of reassurance and stability that helped to prevent renewed conflict. Depending upon the nature of the situation, different configurations and compositions of security deployments will need to be considered. As the variety and scale of threat widens, innovative measures will be required to deal with the dangers facing United Nations personnel.

67 Experience has demonstrated that the presence of a United Nations operation has not always been sufficient to deter hostile action. Duty in areas of danger can never be risk-free; United Nations personnel must expect to go in harm's way at times. The courage, commitment and idealism shown by United Nations personnel should be respected by the entire international community. These men and women deserve to be properly recognized and rewarded for the perilous tasks they undertake. Their interests and those of their families must be given due regard and protected.

68 Given the pressing need to afford adequate protection to United Nations personnel engaged in life-endangering circumstances, I recommend that the Security Council, unless it elects immediately to withdraw the United Nations presence in order to preserve the credibility of the Organization, gravely consider what action should be taken towards those who put United Nations personnel in danger. Before deployment takes place, the Council should keep open the option of considering in advance collective measures, possibly including those under Chapter VII when a threat to international peace and security is also involved, to come into effect should the purpose of the United Nations operation systematically be frustrated and hostilities occur.

IX. Financing

A CHASM has developed between the tasks entrusted to this Organization and the financial means provided to it. The truth of the matter is that our vision cannot really extend to the prospect opening before us as long as our financing remains myopic. There are two main areas of concern: the ability of the Organization to function over the longer term; and immediate requirements to respond to a crisis. 69

To remedy the financial situation of the United Nations in all its aspects, my distinguished predecessor repeatedly drew the attention of Member States to the increasingly impossible situation that has arisen and, during the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, made a number of proposals. Those proposals which remain before the Assembly, and with which I am in broad agreement, are the following: 70

- *Proposal one*. This suggested the adoption of a set of measures to deal with the cash flow problems caused by the exceptionally high level of unpaid contributions as well as with the problem of inadequate working capital reserves:
  - (*a*) Charging interest on the amounts of assessed contributions that are not paid on time;
  - (*b*) Suspending certain financial regulations of the United Nations to permit the retention of budgetary surpluses;
  - (*c*) Increasing the Working Capital Fund to a level of $250 million and endorsing the principle that the

level of the Fund should be approximately 25 per cent of the annual assessment under the regular budget;

(*d*) Establishment of a temporary Peace-keeping Reserve Fund, at a level of $50 million, to meet initial expenses of peace-keeping operations pending receipt of assessed contributions;

(*e*) Authorization to the Secretary-General to borrow commercially, should other sources of cash be inadequate.

- *Proposal two.* This suggested the creation of a Humanitarian Revolving Fund in the order of $50 million, to be used in emergency humanitarian situations. The proposal has since been implemented.

- *Proposal three.* This suggested the establishment of a United Nations Peace Endowment Fund, with an initial target of $1 billion. The Fund would be created by a combination of assessed and voluntary contributions, with the latter being sought from Governments, the private sector as well as individuals. Once the Fund reached its target level, the proceeds from the investment of its principal would be used to finance the initial costs of authorized peace-keeping operations, other conflict resolution measures and related activities.

71 In addition to these proposals, others have been added in recent months in the course of public discussion. These ideas include: a levy on arms sales that could be related to maintaining an Arms Register by the United Nations; a levy on international air travel, which is dependent on the maintenance of peace; authorization for the United Nations to borrow

from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—for peace and development are interdependent; general tax exemption for contributions made to the United Nations by foundations, businesses and individuals; and changes in the formula for calculating the scale of assessments for peace-keeping operations.

As such ideas are debated, a stark fact remains: the financial foundations of the Organization daily grow weaker, debilitating its political will and practical capacity to undertake new and essential activities. This state of affairs must not continue. Whatever decisions are taken on financing the Organization, there is one inescapable necessity: Member States must pay their assessed contributions in full and on time. Failure to do so puts them in breach of their obligations under the Charter. 72

In these circumstances and on the assumption that Member States will be ready to finance operations for peace in a manner commensurate with their present, and welcome, readiness to establish them, I recommend the following: 73

(*a*) Immediate establishment of a revolving peace-keeping reserve fund of $50 million;

(*b*) Agreement that one third of the estimated cost of each new peace-keeping operation be appropriated by the General Assembly as soon as the Security Council decides to establish the operation; this would give the Secretary-General the necessary commitment authority and assure an adequate cash flow; the balance of the costs would be appropriated after the General Assembly approved the operation's budget;

(*c*) Acknowledgement by Member States that, under exceptional circumstances, political and operational considerations may make it necessary for the Secretary-General to employ his authority to place contracts without competitive bidding.

74 Member States wish the Organization to be managed with the utmost efficiency and care. I am in full accord. I have taken important steps to streamline the Secretariat in order to avoid duplication and overlap while increasing its productivity. Additional changes and improvements will take place. As regards the United Nations system more widely, I continue to review the situation in consultation with my colleagues in the Administrative Committee on Coordination. The question of assuring financial security to the Organization over the long term is of such importance and complexity that public awareness and support must be heightened. I have therefore asked a select group of qualified persons of high international repute to examine this entire subject and to report to me. I intend to present their advice, together with my comments, for the consideration of the General Assembly, in full recognition of the special responsibility that the Assembly has, under the Charter, for financial and budgetary matters.

X. An agenda for peace

75 THE NATIONS and peoples of the United Nations are fortunate in a way that those of the League of Nations were not. We have been given a second chance to create the world of our Charter that they were denied. With the cold war ended we have drawn back from the brink of a confrontation that threatened the world and, too often, paralysed our Organization.

76 Even as we celebrate our restored possibilities, there is a need to ensure that the lessons of the past four decades are learned and that the errors, or variations of them, are not repeated. For there may not be a third opportunity for our planet which, now for different reasons, remains endangered.

77 The tasks ahead must engage the energy and attention of all components of the United Nations system—the General Assembly and other principal organs, the agencies and programmes. Each has, in a balanced scheme of things, a role and a responsibility.

78 Never again must the Security Council lose the collegiality that is essential to its proper functioning, an attribute that it has gained after such trial. A genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of the veto or the power of any group of nations. And it follows that agreement among the permanent members must have the deeper support of the other members of the Council, and the membership more widely, if the Council's decisions are to be effective and endure.

79 The Summit Meeting of the Security Council of 31 January 1992 provided a unique forum for exchanging views and strengthening cooperation. I recommend that the Heads of State and Government of the members of the Council meet in alternate years, just before the general debate commences in the General Assembly. Such sessions would permit exchanges on the challenges and dangers of the moment and stimulate ideas on how the United Nations may best serve to steer change into peaceful courses. I propose in addition that the Security Council continue to meet at the Foreign Minister level, as it has effectively done in recent years, whenever the situation warrants such meetings.

80 Power brings special responsibilities, and temptations. The powerful must resist the dual but opposite calls of unilateralism and isolationism if the United Nations is to succeed. For just as unilateralism at the global or regional level can shake the confidence of others, so can isolationism, whether it results from political choice or constitutional circumstance, enfeeble the global undertaking. Peace at home and the urgency of rebuilding and strengthening our individual societies necessitates peace abroad and cooperation among nations. The endeavours of the United Nations will require the fullest engagement of all of its Members, large and small, if the present renewed opportunity is to be seized.

81 Democracy within nations requires respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as set forth in the Charter. It requires as well a deeper understanding and respect for the rights of minorities and respect for the needs of the more vulnerable groups of society, especially women and children. This is not only a political matter. The social stability needed for productive growth is nurtured by conditions in which people can readily express their will. For this, strong domestic institutions of participation are essential. Promoting such institutions means promoting the empowerment of the unorganized, the poor, the marginalized. To this end, the focus of the United Nations should be on the "field", the locations where economic, social and political decisions take effect. In furtherance of this I am taking steps to rationalize and in certain cases integrate the various programmes and agencies of the United Nations within specific countries. The senior United Nations official in each country should be prepared to serve, when needed, and with the consent of the host authorities, as my Representative on matters of particular concern.

Democracy within the family of nations means the application of its principles within the world Organization itself. This requires the fullest consultation, participation and engagement of all States, large and small, in the work of the Organization. All organs of the United Nations must be accorded, and play, their full and proper role so that the trust of all nations and peoples will be retained and deserved. The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument. Democracy at all levels is essential to attain peace for a new era of prosperity and justice. *82*

Trust also requires a sense of confidence that the world Organization will react swiftly, surely and impartially and that it will not be debilitated by political opportunism or by administrative or financial inadequacy. This presupposes a strong, efficient and independent international civil service whose integrity is beyond question and an assured financial basis that lifts the Organization, once and for all, out of its present mendicancy. *83*

84 Just as it is vital that each of the organs of the United Nations employ its capabilities in the balanced and harmonious fashion envisioned in the Charter, peace in the largest sense cannot be accomplished by the United Nations system or by Governments alone. Non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, parliamentarians, business and professional communities, the media and the public at large must all be involved. This will strengthen the world Organization's ability to reflect the concerns and interests of its widest constituency, and those who become more involved can carry the word of United Nations initiatives and build a deeper understanding of its work.

85 Reform is a continuing process, and improvement can have no limit. Yet there is an expectation, which I wish to see fulfilled, that the present phase in the renewal of this Organization should be complete by 1995, its fiftieth anniversary. The pace set must therefore be increased if the United Nations is to keep ahead of the acceleration of history that characterizes this age. We must be guided not by precedents alone, however wise these may be, but by the needs of the future and by the shape and content that we wish to give it.

86 I am committed to broad dialogue between the Member States and the Secretary-General. And I am committed to fostering a full and open interplay between all institutions and elements of the Organization so that the Charter's objectives may not only be better served, but that this Organization may emerge as greater than the sum of its parts. The United Nations was created with a great and courageous vision. Now is the time, for its nations and peoples, and the men and women who serve it, to seize the moment for the sake of the future.

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